QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

BRITISH SECRET DOCUMENTS

DR. P.N. CHOPRA
CHIEF EDITOR

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

About the Book

The "Quit India" movement of 1942 is a landmark in India's struggle for freedom. It was the last and, undoubtedly, the bitterest fight for freedom ever waged against the British in India. The observations of the then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow are quite significant. "I am engaged here," wrote the Viceroy on 31 August 1942 to the Prime Minister Winston Churchill, "in meeting by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security." Interestingly, Abdul Qayyium, then a Congress leader of NWFP, corroborates it in a Document included in the volume that "if Gandhi died the country would witness another 1857".

Though a number of works have been brought out on the 'Quit India' movement but so far the Intelligence Reports of the then British Government of India remained inaccessible. It is for the first time that these important documents have been made public after about 45 years when this great movement was launched. These documents throw fresh light on many aspects of this movement. Gandhiji, for example, had definitely given instructions to his followers that they might set up a national government before the invading army could consolidate their position and declare it free India. The Intelligence Reports credit Sucheta Kripalani, Sadiq Ali, Gidwani, M.L. Saxena, Ram Manohar Lohia and Gopi Nath Bardolai for drafting instructions for the campaign after the arrest of the leaders. G.D. Birla is said to have leaked the information regarding the Government's decision to arrest Gandhi and others by telephone from Delhi about mid-night on 8th August. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit is reported to have conveyed Gandhi's message to "completely paralyse the Government in any way possible short of murder." Sardar Patel is said to have

(Contd. on 2nd flap)

Indian Edition Rs. 195.00
Export Edition $ 25.50

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

BRITISH SECRET DOCUMENTS

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

BRITISH SECRET DOCUMENTS

Chief Editor
DR. P.N. CHOPRA

Associate Editor
DR. S.R. BAKSHI

INTERPRINT

राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

FOREWORD

We shall be completing 40 years of our Independence next year. The sacrifices made by our people during the freedom struggle under the leadership of stalwarts like Lokmanya Tilak, Gopal Krishan Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and others are still fresh not only on the pages of history, but also in the minds of the older generation, who took active part in the national movement and witnessed the dedication of those, who made it the only ambition of their lives to liberate the country from the Imperialist rule.

The Quit India Movement of 1942 represented a milestone in the long-drawn struggle for freedom and marked a significant change from the non-violent methods to a tumultuous revolutionary movement, which called for quick, brave and fervent action and heavy sacrifices on the part of the nationally motivated younger generation. The Quit India Movement was greater in intensity and dimension than even the first war of Independence of 1857—termed as Mutiny by the British rulers. The movement of 1942 virtually shook the roots of the Raj and they were convinced of the futility and unfeasibility of continuing their stranglehold over this vast, resurgent and seething sub-continent. This was of course buttressed by the role of the Azad Hind Fauj operating in the East.

The study of freedom struggle, and more particularly of the Quit India Movement, will always hold fascination for future generations all over the world, as it proved the firm resolve of millions of Indian people to regain independence and with that the dignity and honour in the comity of nations.

Dr. P.N. Chopra, an eminent historian, has done a commendable job of collecting and publishing selected documents pertaining to the Quit India Movement, which throw fresh light on the many hitherto obscure aspects of this important phase of our freedom struggle. I trust that the publication of these documents will enrich material already available on the subject, and will be of wide interest to historians, researchers and the public alike.

New Delhi
October 23, 1986.

(ZAIL SINGH)

INTRODUCTION

The "Quit India" movement of 1942 is a landmark in India's struggle for freedom. It was the last and, undoubtedly, the bitterest fight for freedom ever waged against the British in India. It surpassed all the earlier movements including the Great Revolt of 1857 in dimensions and intensity. The observations of the then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow are quite significant. "I am engaged here," wrote the Viceroy on 31 August, 1942 to the Prime Minister Winston Churchill, "in meeting by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security." It was spread over almost all the provinces from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The violent upsurge of the masses and their readiness to sacrifice everything for the emancipation of the motherland showed their grim determination to throw off the foreign yoke. It warned the British that they were not wanted in India and that "their belief that any section of the Indian people—favoured continuance of their rule was a delusion." The complete breakdown of law and order in many parts of the country and the setting up of parallel independent governments by the people made them realize that they could not hold their sway over India for long. "The events of 1942 had shown," observes Wheeler, biographer of King George VI, "how easy it was for agitators to inflame the mobs and to make orderly governments impossible over large parts of the country." Contrary to his public pronouncements, Churchill, the then Prime Minister, gloomily disclosed to the King at one of their Tuesday luncheons in July 1942 that "The idea of the transfer of power in India had become an admitted inevitability in the minds of the British party leaders." The King noted in his diary of 28 July 1942: "He (Churchill) amazed me by saying that his colleagues and both or all the three parties in Parliament were quite prepared to give up India to the Indians after the war. He felt they had already been talked into giving up India. Cripps, the Press and the U.S. public opinion have all contributed to make their minds up and that our role in India is wrong and has always been wrong for India." The violent mass upsurge of 1942, the enthusiastic response of the people from one end of the country to the other, many instances of individual and collective heroism and bravery in the face of heavy odds and their untold sufferings and sacrifices hastened the British decision to quit India. Gandhi had after all succeeded in convincing the British that they were not morally justified in keeping India under bondage and that they had to quit.

This movement also marks the end of the Gandhian era. It was clear to discerning eyes that Gandhi's policy of non-violence, non-cooperation had outlived its utility for the achievement of independence and was no longer popular with the Indian nationalists who were convinced that more radical and revolutionary methods were needed in the changed circumstances to achieve their goal. Even Sardar Patel, a firm

believer in *ahimsa* (non-violence) and a devoted disciple of Gandhi, approved of the revolutionary method adopted by the people after the arrest of their leaders and echoed the new mood of the people when he said "Never before had such widespread uprising happened in India in the history of the British Raj, as they did during the last three years. We are proud of the spirit in which the people reacted... The leaders were all of a sudden kidnapped from the midst of the people and people acted on the spur of the moment. Non-violence had taken no doubt deep roots but one had to face the reality that violence was the order of the day in the whole world. It would be like the Devil quoting the scriptures, if the world outside criticized India if she switched over from non-violent attempt to regain independence."

The importance of the 'Quit India' movement and its contribution to the achievement of India's Independence could not be assessed by historians till the publication by me of the Wickenden's Report, the most comprehensive document prepared by the British Government on this Great Revolt. Meanwhile, the publication of the *'Transfer of Power Documents'* by the British Government provided additional material to the historians who were carrying on researches on this movement.

However, one important source material still remained inaccessible, viz. the Intelligence Reports of the then Government of India. It is for the first time that these important documents are being made public after over a period of 50 years when this great movement was launched. These documents throw fresh light on many aspects of this movement. Gandhiji, for example, had definitely given instructions to his followers that they might set up a National Government in the occupied areas before the invading army could consolidate their position and declare it free India. Whoever won the war, Gandhiji is reported to have said, would be compelled to come to terms with the National Government (Document 2). The Intelligence Reports of August 20, 1942 reviewed the discussions in the Working Committee prior to the launching of the movement and held Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel and Jairamdas Daulat Ram and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya responsible for voting for the movement while Nehru, Azad, G.B. Pant, Asaf Ali and Bhulabhai Desai along with Rajagopalachari spoke against it. According to the Intelligence Report, Gandhi's decision was governed by the belief that the Axis would win the war (Document 30). The Intelligence Reports credit Sucheta Kripalani, Sadiq Ali, Gidwani, M.L. Saxena, Kalipada Mukherjee, Ram Manohar Lohia and Gopi Nath Bardoli for drafting the instructions for the campaign after the arrest of the leaders (Document 34). Reference has been made to the leakage of the news about the possibility of Gandhi's arrest by G.D. Birla by telephone from Delhi about mid-night on 8th August (Document 110). Kannoo Bhai Gandhi, a nephew of Mahatma Gandhi, is alleged to have carried Gandhi's message regarding details about the movement. Dr. Ashraf a leftist leader, was of the view that "Pandit Nehru neither visualised the movement nor approved of it," according to Intelligence Reports. However, Mrs. Huthee Singh, sister of Nehru, was of the view that her brother was "in complete agreement with Gandhiji regarding the start of the campaign" (Documents 153 and 169).

The Andhra Circular of Kala Venkata Rao which has since become famous was attributed to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was entrusted with the task of circulating the instructions from the Congress Working Committee. The intelligence sources were not able to intercept any of the letters carrying the instructions as according to them "The Congress Working Committee has, for a number of years, never entrusted its close secret to the post and like Communists has always communicated them through couriers" (Document 5). D. Parkin of C.I.D. in his letter dated August 4,1942 gave

details about the Congress Movement which was intended to paralyse the Government and significantly mentioned that the Congressmen were asked to tamper with the loyalty of the troops. Dictators were to be appointed in districts, each dictator were to nominate its successor, the names to be kept secret. The Congressmen were also asked to avoid arrests until the movement started by restricting their speeches to moderate public utterances (Document 6). There is an interesting intercepted letter from the daughter of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit written from Allahabad on 23.8.1942 to a girl Ranjana, a student in Lucknow. In this she stated "you asked about the non-violent question. Gandhiji's instructions are to completely paralyse the Government in any way possible, short of murder (Document 68). Some of the ladies who took the lead but whose names are not much known include Debi Chaudhuri in Bengal (Document 82), Ved Kumari (Document 17), Mrs Charitar Singh (Document 79) and Razia Khatun (document 95).

However, one thing comes out clearly from a secret note from A.I.G. Police, C.I.D., U.P., addressed to the Chief Secretary dated September 18, 1942 in which the following para occurs: "There is no evidence to prove that there is collusion between the Congressmen and the Axis powers in connection with recent disturbances (Document 96).

There is an interesting note from the Resident, Rajputana Agency attributing Mirza Ismail Prime Minister of Jaipur's soft attitude towards the Congress to the liberal gifts of money which he had been receiving from Birla (Document 7). Birla is again criticized in another Intelligence Report for giving advance wages to the labourers for two months to enable them to absent themselves from the Birla Mills and thus help in the freedom struggle (Document 23). Sardar Patel was also said to have collected funds to give to mill labourers of Ahmedabad for keeping them away from work (Document 66). An Intelligence Report alleges that Kiran Shankar Roy received a sum of Rs. two lakhs from G.L. Mehta, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, to organise disturbances (Document 105). G.D. Birla has again been reported in another document to have offered Rs. 25,000/- or even more for fomenting General Trombay Strike in Calcutta in furtherance of the Movement (Document 109). Some of the other documents referred to the sabotage activities being encouraged by Ravi Shankar Shukla and Professor N.G. Ranga (vide Docs. 131 and 134) and solving the question of money by counterfeiting currency notes. The atrocities committed by the British are clearly brought out in a document which refers to the observations of Sullivan, Under Secretary to the Government of Central Provinces, who referred to the slaughter at Nagpur of over 24 persons and boasted at the club in the evening that he had "jolly good fun having shot down 24 niggers himself" (Document 106). Such pro-Government businessmen such as Sir Sriram and Shankar Lal were alleged in Intelligence Reports to be in sympathy with the Congress and it was reported that Charat Ram gave Rs. 10,000/- to Jayprakash Narain for the movement. According to another report Rai Bahadur Baisakha Singh, Government contractor helped Aruna Asaf Ali and his house was also used by certain fugitives (Ducument 177). Among those who had been helping the revolutionaries, names of Messrs Loknath and Sons, Cloth Merchants, Connaught Place and Daljit Singh, son of Sir Sobha Singh have also been mentioned (Documents 190, 194). The Intelligence Reports also alleged that Sarla Srivastava, daughter of Sir J.P. Srivastava Member-in-charge, Civil Defence Department was in league with Aruna Asaf Ali (Document 192).

The secret report from R.G. Mellore, Superintendent C.I.D. to the Assistant Director, Intelligence refers to the serious situation created in Delhi after the launching of this movement and a statement is attributed to one Manohar Lal to the effect that

"the movement is assuming the shape of the 1815 revolution in Europe directed with the definite object of paralysing Government machinery in this country" (Document 22). Abdul Qayyum of North-Western Frontier Province made it clear in a statement that "if Gandhi died, the country would witness another 1857." (Document 170).

Regarding the Communists, the Intelligence Reports observed "The Communist as a party count for little at the moment. Their impossible two-faced programme tends to alienate support still further. They must support Congress and revile the Government and they must be driven at any moment to change their policy of keeping labour at its job (Document 56). In the meantime, a warning to Joshi seems necessary". At another place it was pointed out that the Communists attempt to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds led to some minor defections from their own party and also to unpopularity of their present policy among the Congress sympathisers (Document 56). There are documents throwing light on the brutalities of the British military officers at Chimur and Ashti. (Documents, 284, 348, 359 etc.). Rebellion in Nilgiri too assumed great proportions (Documents 298 and 128).

I hope that a study of these documents would enable scholars, historians and statesmen to understand the significance of the 'Quit India' Movement in its proper historical perspective.

I am indebted to the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for granting me access to these documents. I would like to express my thanks to Shri S.N. Mehta, Publisher, Interprint, for undertaking the publication of this book.

P.N. Chopra

CONTENTS

1942

No.	Description	Date	Page
1.	Abdul Qaiyyum's Instructions to NWFP Congress Workers	15 January	1
2.	Gandhi's Instructions in Case of British Defeat	22 April	2
3.	Police Strike in Cochin State	15 May	2
4.	Parkin of C.I.D. on Congress Plans for Mass Movement in U.P.	24 July	3
5.	The Andhra Circular and Pattabhi Sitaramayya	29 July	5
6.	Parkin of C.I.D. on Secret Meetings of Congress Leaders in U.P.	4 Aughst	7
7.	Resident Rajputana Ascribes Mirza Ismail's Soft Attitude to Congress to His Receiving Gifts from Birla	8 August	10
8.	Extremely Serious Situation in Delhi	10 August	12
9.	London Times on Disturbances in India	10 August	19
10.	Brij Lal Biyani's Secret Instructions for Berar Congressmen	11 August	19
11.	Gandhi's Instructions in Case of Wholesale Arrest of Congress Workers	12 August	20
12.	Praja Mandal Active in Rajputana States	13 August	21
13.	Murder of Police Officers at Ashiti	13 August	23
14.	Revolutionary Activities by Congress in Punjab and U.P.	13 August	24
15.	British Representative Baroda to Viceroy on Agitation in Baroda and Gujarat States	14 August	25
16.	Agitation in Central Indian States	14 August	30
17.	The Tribune Condemns British Atrocities	14 August	32
18.	Police and Military Firings at various Places in C.P.	15 August	34
19.	Movement in Baluchistan	15 August	39
20.	Murder of Police Officers in Chimur and Ashti: Mass Arrests in C.P. and Berar	16 August	40
21.	Military Firing in Nagpur as the Movement Spreads	16 August	41

22.	'Movement in Delhi Resembles 1815 Revolution in Europe'	17 August	48
23.	Brila encourages Mill Labourers to Strike: Rural Participation in Delhi Agitation	17 August	50
24.	Movement Starts in Baroda	17 August	52
25.	Calcutta Reacts to Arrest of Congress Leaders	17 August	54
26.	Arrest of R.S. Shukla and D.P. Misra	17 August	56
27.	Developments in Jodhpur State	18 August	57
28.	K.N. Gairola's Statement regarding Underground Activities in U.P.	19 August	59
29.	Agitation in Gujarat States	20 August	63
30.	Intelligence Reports Regarding Congress Preparations for the Countrywide Revolt	20 August	64
31.	Hartals and Demonstrations in Bengal	20 August	79
32.	Birla and Industrialists Responsible for Gandhi's Movement	20 August	80
33.	Movement in C.P. & Berar and Police Repression	20-25 August	81
34.	Prominent Leaders Draft Instructions after Gandhi's Arrest	21 August	86
35.	K.D. Malaviya's Role in U.P.	21 August	88
36.	Draft of Congress Campaign at Secret Meeting after Leaders' Arrest	21 August	88
37.	Political Agent's Assessment of Situation in Nilgiri State	21-23 August	89
38.	Disturbances in Indore	22 August	92
39.	Unrest in Calcutta	22 August	93
40.	Bihar Women Lead the Revolt	23 August	94
41.	Underground Activities of Jugal Kishore Khanna	24 August	95
42.	Jinnah's Instructions to his Followers in Case of British Defeat	24 August	96
43.	Santiniketan Students Join the Movement	25 August	97
44.	Rajendra Prasad Indicates Open Rebellion	25 August	97
45.	Dr. Bhubaneswar Barua to act as 'Dictator' for Assam	25 August	98
46.	Dhenkanal People's Agitation	26 August	99
47.	Report of Deputy Director, Intelligence, Peshawar: Instructions for Abdul Ghaffar Khan	27 August	100
48.	Activities of Leaders of Kanpur Congress	27 August	101
49.	C.R.B. Murray, D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar on the Progress of Movement in the Province	28 August	102
50.	A.A. Russell to Ruler of Kotah Advising him not to Surrender to Praja Parishad	28 August	106
51.	Sabotage and Violence in Bihar	28 August	107
52.	Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana	29 August	108
53.	Detention for Ram Nandan Misra	30 August	109
54.	Ram Nandan Misra's Role in Congress Socialist Party	30 August	109
55.	Congress Workers in Assam Advised to Harass Government by Violent or Non-violent Means	30 August	110
56.	Revolutionary Activities in U.P. (Extract)- Communists' Dilemma	31 August	111

57.	Agitation in Rajputana States	31 August	117
58.	Praja Mandal Activities in Bharatpur, Jaipur and Jodhpur	31 August	125
59.	Defiant Attitude of People in Baroda	31 August	127
60.	Movement in C.P. & Berar After R.S. Shukla's Arrest	31 August	128
61.	Mrs. Shanti Kabir's Support for Mrs. Asaf Ali	1 September	132
62.	Movement in Uttar Pradesh	1 September	133
63.	Joint 'Board of Action' in Bengal	1 September	133
64.	Repression in Orissa	1 September	134
65.	Collective Fines in C.P. & Berar and Repercussions	2 September	135
66.	Sardar Patel Collects Fund for Labourers to keep them away from Mills	2 September	136
67.	Incitement Attempts at Army by Bengali Students	3 September	136
68.	Congress Leaders Ask People to Paralyse Government	4 September	137
69.	Kotah Administration Paralysed	4 September	139
70.	Goods Train Derailed in Bombay: Situation in Saij after Murder of Police Officers	4 September	140
71.	Acts of Sabotage by 'Bengal Volunteer Group'	5 September	142
72.	Gandhi had Prior Information of Arrest: Instructions for Followers	5 September	143
73.	New Dimensions in Political Activities in Punjab and Delhi	5 September	143
74.	Underground Activities in Orissa	6 September	145
75.	Collection of Funds in U.P. and Activities of Gairola and Malviya	7 September	147
76.	Sir A.R. Dalal's Failure to Placate Tata Strikers	7 September	148
77.	'Quiet India Day' Sponsored by Government	9 September	149
78.	Akalis' Active in Movement in Punjab	9 September	149
79.	Mrs. Charitar Singh leads attack on a Police Station in Bihar	10 September	150
80.	Kiran Shankar Ray's Criticism of the Movement	10 September	150
81.	Hartals and Processions in Rajputana States	11 September	152
82.	Amar Burman and Debi Chaudhuri in Saboteur Activites	11 September	154
83.	Shooting at Students at Patna: Underground Activities of Socialists	12 September	155
84.	Rail Tampering in Punjab and Delhi	12 September	156
85.	Mills in Baroda Remain Closed	12 September	156
86.	Intelligence Refutes Allegation of Enemy Hand in Subversive Activity in U.P.	14 September	157
87.	Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana	15 September	158
88.	Movement in Amjer Merwar	15 September	159
89.	Baroda Calmer	15 September	160
90.	D.A. Brayden, C.I.D., Calcutta to Ahmed, Deputy Director, Intelligence regarding programme of Congress Socialist Party	15 September	161

91.	Views on Mass Movement (Extract)	15 September	162
92.	Indiscriminate Police Firing in C.P. and Berar	16 September	163
93.	Report Regarding Rajputana States	16 September	166
94.	Disturbances in Indore	17 September	166
95.	Role of Jugantar Party in Bengal: Rezia Khatun Leads Procession	17 September	167
96.	Intelligence Finds no Link Between Axis Agents and Congress Workers	18 September	171
97.	Underground Activities in Delhi	18 September	171
98.	Crucial Decision at Wardha on Narendra Dev's Advice	19 September	172
99.	Serious Trouble Erupts in C.P. & Berar	19 September	173
100.	Trouble in Patiala Forces	19 September	177
101.	Revolt Spreads to Rewa and Kotah	22 September	178
102.	Review of Revolutionary Activities in Bengal: An Official Assessment	24 September	179
103.	Civil Disobedience Movement in Eastern States	24-25 September	186
104.	Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana States	25 September	186
105.	Kiran Shankar Roy is reported to have Accepted Rs. Two Lakhs from CWC to Organize Disturbances	26 September	187
106.	Sullivan, Under Secretary, C.P. Government, claims having killed 25 Persons	27 September	188
107.	Hired Ruffians' Atrocities on Chimur Citizens	27 September	189
108.	Achyut Patwardhan as Author of 'Quit India' Bulletin	27 September	190
109.	Birla and Marwari Community 'Finance' the Movement	28 September	193
110.	Birla informed Gandhi Regarding His Arrest: Believed that He Left Instructions with Kasturba	29 September	194
111.	Ram Nandan Mishra on Role of Socialist Party	30 September	197
112.	Revolutionary Activites in Bengal	30 September	197
113.	Guerilla Activities in Assam	30 September	198
114.	The Nilgiri Rebellion	1 October	198
115.	Movement in Bengal Uncontrolled	2 October	201
116.	Radical League in Gauhati	2 October	201
117.	D.I.G. Police on Sabotage in U.P.	3 October	203
118.	Sporadic and Unorganised Sabotage in U.P.: An Assessment by Intelligence Deptt.	5 October	208
119.	Brutal Murder by Police in Nowgong	6 October	212
120.	Sabotage Events in U.P.: Report of Inspector-General of Police	7 October	214
121.	Second Stage of the Movement: Lohia Issues Instructions	7 October	219
122.	Role of Jugantar Paty	10 October	222
123.	Kiran Shankar Roy Supports Sabotage Activities	10 October	223

124.	Prem Kishan Khanna Leaders Terrorist Activities in U.P.	14 October	223
125.	Activities of Praja Mandal in Rajasthan	15 October	224
126.	Abdus Samad Khan's Directive in Baluchistan	16 October	232
127.	Revelation of Underground Activities by K.D. Malviya	16 October	232
128.	Dr. Gairola's Policy of Non-violent Violence	16 October	233
129.	Sabotage in C.P. and Berar: Trial of Ashti and Chimur Convicts	16 October	234
130.	Destruction of Government Property in C.P. & Berar:	16 October	236
131.	Ravi Shankar Shukla Encouraged Sabotage	19 October	237
132.	Paliwals Active in Securing Arms	20 October	238
133.	Ambika Singh Leads Revolutionary Activities in Jaunpur	20 October	239
134.	N.G. Ranga Supports Sabotage and Terrorism	20 October	239
135.	Role of Revolutionary Groups in Bengal	22 October	240
136.	The Tragedy of Chimur	23 October	241
137.	Acharya Jugal Koshore Appointed 'Director' in U.P.	26 October	246
138.	Leaders of Underground Activites	29 October	246
139.	Defiance of Police by Mobs in Bombay	30 October	247
140.	Congress Campaign of Sabotage and Terrorism in U.P.	30 October	248
141.	Sabotage in Bihar handiwork of unskilled hand	30 October	248
142.	Bomb Incidents in Sind	31 October	249
143.	Damage to Government Property in C.P. and Berar	31 October	250
144.	Government's Concern for Activities of Lohia and Malaviya	4 November	251
145.	Acharya Jugal Koshore as Chief Organiser in U.P.	7 November	251
146.	Revelation Regarding Sabotage by Prem Kishan Khanna	11 November	252
147.	Rebellion Much More Serious in Villages	16 November	254
148.	Subversive Activities in U.P.	23 November	255
149.	Gandhi's Message Sent Through His Nephew Before Arrest	24 November	255
150.	Dr. Keskar and Dr. Gairola Work Out Programme of Sabotage	28 November	257
151.	Dr. Gairola to Help Set up a Wireless Set	2 December	258
152.	Socialists Reactivising the Movement and Regrouping Districts in U.P.	4 December	259
153.	Nehru Against the Quit India Movement	9 December	262
154.	Arrest of Jogindra Sukul in Bihar	10 December	263
155.	Planning and Organisation of the Movement	10 December	263
156.	Congress Funds in the Name of Devdas Gandhi	16 December	270

157.	Student Agitation in Banaras led by Gairola and Govind Malaviya	21 December	271
158.	Declaration of People's Raj in Ghazipur	21 December	274
159.	Increase in Tempo of Underground Activities	21 December	278
160.	Prof. Kailash Prakash's Activities in U.P.	22 December	278
161.	Underground Activities in Bihar	28 December	279

1943

162.	Searches and Arrests in Delhi	15 January	279
163.	Political Situation in Bengal	16 January	280
164.	No-Tax Campaign and Strike in M.P.	18 January	281
165.	'Instructions to Revolutionaries': Revelation from Annaji Balkrishna Barva	8 February	282
166.	Difference of Ideology Amoungst Congress Workers	17 February	283
167.	Government Concern About Poor Distribution of "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances"	19 February	284
168.	Sabotage Activites in Bihar	22 February	286
169.	S. Gadre's Conviction Set Aside	22 February	287
170.	Gandhi's Death would Repeat 1857 according to Abdul Qayyum	25 February	287
171.	A Rejoinder to Government's Pamphlet "Congress Responsibility for Disturbances"	28 February	288
172.	No Condemnation of Violence by Gandhi	3 March	291
173.	Distribution of Money for Purchasing Arms	4 March	291
174.	Support of Sir Siri Ram and Shankar Lal for Congress	10 March	292
175.	Intelligence Report regarding Sabotage work in Assam	13 March	292
176.	M.M. Shah's Confessional Statement before the Police	16 March	296
177.	Sardar Baisakha Singh's Support to Aruna Asaf Ali	17 March	298
178.	Coal Supplies Affected in Bihar	21 March	299
179.	Activities of Jai Prakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia	29 March	299
180.	Underground Activities in U.P.	3 April	300
181.	Activities of Baba Raghav Das	5 April	302
182.	Kiran Shankar Ray Against Sabotage: Nazimuddin's Overtures to Anand Bazar	10 April	303
183.	Rebel Absconders in U.P.: An Official Assessment	19 April	304
184.	Central Intelligence Officer, U.P. Expresses Apprehension of Rebel Propaganda	26 April	305
185.	Rebel Propaganda in Armed Forces	26 April	305
186.	Underground Activities in Delhi	28 April	306
187.	Arrest of Dr. Gairola and Others	10 May	309
188.	Achyut Patwardhan's Role in Maharashtra	11 May	310
189.	Gairola and Radhey Shyam Active in B.H.U.	11 May	311
190.	Secret Help to Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali	12 May	312
191.	Efforts to Gain American Sympathy by Congress Underground Leaders	24 May	312

192.	Aruna Asaf Ali's Activities in Delhi: Contact with Sir Srivastava's Daughter	10 June	313
193.	Activities of Baba Raghav Das in U.P.	10 June	314
194.	Report regarding Activities of Daljit Singh in Delhi: Sobha Singh's Involvement Alleged	19 June	315
195.	Demonstration by Students in Bengal	25 June	316
196.	Activities of Kiran Shankar Roy and Others	25 June	317
197.	Movement Gathers Momentum in Assam	25 June	317
198.	Intelligence Report on Activites of Congress Socialist Party in Bihar	28 June	319
199.	Army Officers in League with Rebels	29 June	321
200.	Translation of an Oriya Letter from Trilochan Senapati, Orissa Leader, to Smt. Jamini Mukherji	2 July	322
201.	Robinson of C.I.D. Punjab to J.S.M. Shattock, First Assistant to the Resident, Kashmir, Srinagar, regarding situation in Jammu	20 July	325
202.	Arrest of Trilochan Senapati	16 August	328
203.	Activities of Baba Raghava Das in U.P.	26 August	328
204.	G.L. Mehta's Contacts with Underground C.S.P. Rebels: Involvement of Humayun Kabir	4 September	329
205.	Role of Ananda Prasad Chowdhury and Others	15 September	330
206.	Arrest of Atulya Ghose	31 October	331
207.	London Times on the Intensity of the Movement	12 November	332
208.	Kiran Shankar Roy's Misgivings	23 November	333
209.	Subversive Organisations' Contact with Indian Troops	25 November	334
210.	Unrest in Tamluk	7 December	335
	Appendices		336

TOWER
HAMLETS
LIBRARIES

1

Abdul Qaiyyum's Instructions to NWFP Congress Workers

F.28/Cong./42-B-III January 15, 1942

One Abdul Rashid Khan, stated to be of Peshawar, visited Delhi last week end. It is known that he came on a mission delegated to him by Abdul Qaiyyum, M.L.A. He had a letter from Abdul Qaiyyum for the Central Directorate of the Congress. A summary of the letter is as follows:

"Congress work in the North-West Frontier Province is Proceeding without a break. Red-Shirts organised many demonstrations which harassed the Government. Congress propaganda in the Frontier Province is being carried on extensively. There is, however, a shortage of literate workers".

The letter then went to describe one or two specific instances of Congress activity during the last month and the part played by Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Qaiyyum. The Central Directorate of the Congress was asked for funds. Abdul Qaiyyum expressed the fear that he might be arrested any time, but it was stated that in the event Abdul Rashid would help the Central Directorate to contact other nominees.

It is stated that the Frontier messenger was eventually given Rs.2,000/- to be conveyed to Abdul Qaiyyum for Congress work together with instructions for independence day, the collection of Swaraj Qaraz, etc.

During discussions between Mrs. Asaf Ali and Jai Prakash Narain over the question of piloting the Congress movement in the NWFP, it was felt that Dr. Khan Sahib and other Congress workers were unfitted to act according to the Socialist technique hence the idea of guiding the Frontier operations on Socialist lines was abandoned and the Frontier was left to chose its programme according to local conditions. The

instructions from the Central Directorate will, however, continue to be sent.

Sd/-
Central Intelligence Officer
Lahore.

DDI. Peshawar,
A.D.(S)/I.B. New Delhi.
S.P., C.I.D. Delhi.

———— ·X· ————

2

Gandhi's Instructions in Case of British Defeat

F.24/Cong/42-VIII April 22, 1942

A letter from D.A. Brayden, C.I.O., Baliganj, Calcutta dated April 22, 1942 to the Deputy Director (A), I.B., G. Ahmed has the following significant para regarding the instructions said to have been issued by Gandhi "A remarkable echo of these instructions has recently been heard in the statement of Nayananjan Das Gupta of the Jugantar Party when he was interrogated after his arrest stated that he had evaded the arrest in the hope that when the Axis powers occupy a part of India and the allied troops reiterated the Indian nationalists who succeeded in remaining at large would set up a national government in the occupied areas before the invading army could consolidate its position. and declare it free India. Whoever won the war would be compelled to come to terms with that National Government. Nayananjan Das Gupta was in touch with the Congress Socialist Party and this incident is referred to D.I.C., I.B. review of revolutionary matters for the month of March, 1943."

———— ·X· ————

3

Police Strike in Cochin State

F.4/IS/42 May 15, 1942

Fortnightly report of Madras State Agency for the

fortnight ending May 15, 1942, referring to the Cochin State says:

On the night of the 2nd May, without any previous warning or notice of any general grievance, the police constables attached to the Ernakulam and Mallancherry Police Stations refused to work and staged stay-in strike. The reasons alleged are that their pay is very inadequate and that they wanted all the privileges and amenities allowed to the British Police. They also wanted the right to form a union of their own to safeguard their interests and the right to withdraw from their provident fund in emergencies. Since they refused to listen to advice or warning they were arrested and their duties taken over by the military and special guards. Attempts made to spread the strike to Tripunittura and Trichur were not fruitful as the few who struck work apologised and were permitted to resume work. A contingent of the Malabar special police whose services were requisitioned relieved the military. The Cochin Government has decided to prosecute the strikers about 118 in number under the Essential Services Maintenance Proclamation and the Defence of India Act as applied to the State.

A letter dated June 30, 1942, refers to the decision of Cochin Government that 141 police men who were connected with the police strike were to be punished only departmentally. It was stated that the Government had been convinced that the constables went on strike without much deliberation or fore-thought, under the influence of the prime movers and leaders who organised the unlawful strike.

———— ·X· ————

4

Parkin of C.I.D. on Congress plans for mass Movement in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B.1 July 24, 1942

(STRICTLY SECRET)
No. G/C.10.A-Sat/42.

Criminal Investigation Deptt.
SPECIAL BRANCH, United Provinces.
Lucknow, 24th July, 1942.

My dear Sir,

In pursuance of their plans of preparation for the

mass movement envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Committee of this Province have decided to impart vital instructions to the Congress leaders and organisers of the various districts by calling in such leaders to suitable centres on dates on which they will there be addressed by selected Provincial Congress leaders. Superintendents of Police of the centres so selected are being informed separately of these arrangements and any useful information accruing from reports on such meetings will be communicated to you.

2. Congress leaders anticipate that they will be arrested on the inauguration of the mass movement. They are therefore intent upon arranging for suitable successors to leaders in all districts. It is these successors to known leaders in your district who are to be located now. Certain subterfuges in this connexion are being considered, such as the appointment of district 'Dictators', and the remaining of the Congress Qaumi Sewa Dal as the 'A.R.P! Corps!

3. My main object in writing to you at this stage is to indicate that it is reliably understood that Congress contemplate in the coming movement that the maximum effort will be made by open and subversive groups alike to paralyse the existing form of Government. There are to be no restrictions on the actions of those who choose in their own way to assist the Congress to achieve their end. No-rent campaigns, interference with essential services, acts of sabotage, pressure on Government servants to relinquish their posts and such subversive activity is contemplated. In other words, Congress is prepared to encourage all groups to assist them in whatever way they choose and with whatever weapons they choose. Sept. 15th, when the period of an ultimatum will expire, is the date contemplated for the opening of the campaign. The intervening period, and particularly up to the date of holding of the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay, is to be devoted to intensive organisation in all districts.

4. Will you, please, then, be on the look out for such instructions or plans being circulated in your district and send full information of such to this branch without delay so that information from all districts may be promptly co-ordinated and Government kept fully informed of developments as they occur? Should you obtain definite evidence of the circulation

of instructions envisaging subversive activity, such as documentary evidence or witnessed records of speeches, I am tc say that such information may please be despatched to this Branch by the quickest possible means and by telephone where practicable.

5. Will you please treat this letter as most secret and retain it in your personal custody. In issuing instructions to your officers it is requested that you preserve, as far as is practicable, the secrecy of the contents and their origin. Will you please acknowledge receipt on the attached slip?

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Geo.D. Parkin

To

All Superintendents of Police
United Provinces.

———— ·X· ————

5

The Andhra Circular and Pattabhi Sitaramayya

F.28/Cong./42-B-IV July 29, 1942

The Superintendent of Police, Special Branch C.I.D. in his note on Congress preparations for the present campaign of sabotage says "the earliest documentary evidence to indicate the Congress programme was instructions issued under the signatures of Kala Venkata Rao, Joint Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee dated 29-7-42 (a copy of which was communicated to Government with my No. 192/Camp/42 dated 31-7-42). This programme was issued the day after the various presidents and secretaries of all District Congress Committees in Andhra met at a secret meeting presided over by Pattabhi Sitaramayya in Masulipatam on 28-7-42. The Congress Working Committee held a meeting at Wardha from July 9 to 14. Dr.Pattabhi returned to Masulipatam on the 19th and immediately afterwards Kala Venkata Rao Convened this secret meeting. On the 13th July, Dr. Pattabhi arrived in Madras and outlined this programme to leading Madras Congress workers. Dr. Pattabhi is a close confident of Gandhi and hitherto has always been prepared slavishly to follow

Gandhi's wishes. Copies of the circular issued by Kala Venkata Rao also came to notice in Nellore, Kistna and East Godavari District.

2. Copies of an identical programme issued in the name of Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committeė were under preparation in the Tamilnad P.C.C. Office prior to 6-8-42. The programme was seen in a circular in South Arcot, Tinnevelly and Chingleput Districts.

3. On 14-8-42 we came in possession of unsigned letter but obviously written by Kala Venkata Rao referred to above dated 9-8-42 at Bombay to one Sadanand, the office secretary of the Andhra P.C.C. This added the following items to the programme:-

(i) Felling of trees on road margins.
(ii) Marching on Government offices.
(iii) Appealing to the police not to do their duties.
(iv) Removing fish plates from railway lines.

4. There is also attached intercepted correspondence which was posted in Bombay on the 12th August, 1942, from one Narindra Nath addressed to the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, Calicut. The envelope contained instructions that if it was undelivered it should be returned to Congress Office, Madras. this note also relates how the similar instructions embodied in a resolution of Tanukyo Taluq Congress Committee were recovered from the pocket of a youth arrested for cutting telegraph wires. Besides this, the note quotes the speeches of certain Congressmen who advocated cutting of telegraph wires, dislocation of office, destruction of Government offices records and defiance of police. The concluding para of this note says:

Admittedly we have not seen anything in Dr.Sitaramayya's own hand-writing, nor have we received any instructions from the Congress Working Committee. This, however, is to be expected, as the Congress Working Committee has, for a number of years never entrusted its close secret to the post and like the Communists has always communicated them through couriers. The widespread incitement to violence by a Congressman allegedly of orthodox persuasion, however, provides unmistakable indications that the Working Committee as a whole had advised this widespread attack on communications and outbreak of sabotage. For a considerable time Gandhi has dominated completely the Working Committee's deliberations and in the end has always

obtained his objective. In fact, all the decisions of this Committee are his. It is also clear from the voting figure at the AICC meeting held at Bombay on 7th and 8th that this peculiar domination extends to that larger body too. Independent confirmation of this opinion has come in an unsolicited form from renowned Dr.Subbarayan who unsuccessfully moved a counter resolution at the AICC meeting. In describing events there he said that the Committee was one of yes men. With this evidence Gandhi's complicity in and response for these disorders seems unmistakable. To this note is attached the correspondence referred to above in which Narendar Nath in his letter dated 12-8-42 from Bombay to the Secretary, KPCC, Calicut, informs him that a great Movement has started and they have been able to do terrible things here in Bombay. He advises the Secretary, KPCC, Calicut, that one C.S. Ranga Iyer who is as big a revolutionary as Jawaharlal and a close intimate of Pt. Motilal, would shake the Government. The enclosed bulletin of the Congress with this letter contained the usual instructions of burning public buildings, hartals,removing lights from the roadside etc. It contains a copy of Gandhi's last message which reads "every man is free to go to the fullest length under Ahimsa by complete deadlock strikes and all other possible non-violent means. Satyagrahies should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the nation will survive".

———— ·X· ————

6

Parkin of C.I.D. on Secret Meetings of Congress Leaders in U.P.

F.28/Cong./42-B.1 August 4, 1942

STRICTLY SECRET
No.G/C.10.B.Sat./42. Criminal Investigation Deptt.
SPECIAL BRANCH, United Provinces.
Lucknow, 4th August, 1942.

My dear Sir,

I address you in continuation of my D.O.Bo.G/C-10,A. Sat/42,dated 24th July 1942, on the developments in the

Congress plans of preparation for the mass movement envisaged by Mr.Gandhi.

2. Secret meetings, as anticipated, were held at various centres including Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Allahabad, Agra and Bareilly and here the selected leaders were given an outline of the steps that would be taken to ensure the success of the movement. Due to invitations calling in the leaders of the surrounding districts not reaching their destinations in a large number of cases, meetings generally were poorly attended by such representatives. However, there is reason to believe that further efforts have been made to circulate instructions verbally and - to a limited extent - through the press and leaflets. The exhortations of the leaders at these meetings to their followers for "All-out" action were unanimous whilst the instructions as to the nature of such action were varied, indicating that no definite detailed plan had been given from the centre. One noticeable feature was the earnest invitation to all beyond the Congress to join in and assist the movement in whatever way they can. At the same time whilst Congressmen are told they should be non-violent that is carefully qualified by the announcement that should violence ensue the blame will lie on Government and under no circumstances will the movement be called off on that account. To use the words of a prominent leader, such acts would no longer be looked upon by Mahatma Gandhi as a 'Himalayan Blunder' as in the past. In fact each and every person is invited to do his utmost in his own way to ensure that such "Maximum pressure" is exerted upon the Government that they will concede the Congress demands.

3. It was then, in an atmosphere created by such exhortations to the masses to go "All-out" and paralyse the Government that the following suggestions as to the course of the movement were discussed and generally approved at the various centres, when organisers were selected and detailed to carry the call to their respective areas:-

(1) BOYCOTT Quit India slogans to be posted on road crossings, public places, parks and residences of Englishmen. Social boycott of those assisting in the war. Approach to Government servants to join the movement. All connexion with Govt. servants, Govt. Offices and Courts to be severed.

(2) PAYMENT OF RENT — Generally rent is not to be paid. The Zamindars who do not pay rent to Government will be allowed to realise rent from the tenants, the portion already due to Govt. being retained by the tenants. The Zamindars who do not agree will not be paid their rents by the tenants. Travelling by train without ticket.

(3) STRIKES — The movement is to start with a general strike of schools, colleges, Govt. Offices, mills, workshops, aerodromes and markets.

(4) SABOTAGE — The cutting of telegraph wires, removal of railway line, occupation of police stations and Government Offices;lying down in front of military trains is envisaged.All will be encouraged to help in their own way using their own weapons, though Congressmen are asked themselves to remain non-violent. To paralyse Government is the main object. The movement will not be called off because of acts of violence.

(5) ARMY — People will be persuaded not to enlist and at the same time recruits will be sent to the army to tamper with the loyalty of the troops. Military contractors will be asked to terminate contracts.

(6) MODUS OPERANDI — Dictators to be appointed in districts each dictator nominating his successor. Name to be kept secret. A central committee in the province will direct. Couriers where possible to be women. The province is divided into six group areas. Arrest to be resisted when actually being made. Until the movement started arrests to be avoided by restricting speeches to moderate public utterances. Students to be asked to leave their colleges and join the movement in organising strikes, etc. The Qaumi Sewa Dal to be renamed the A.R.P. organisation. Jail rules to be disobeyed.

4. That there is in all these suggestions a modicum of 'bluff' and much wishful thinking is not to be denied but the fact remains that a direct incentive has been

and is being given to all subversive elements to join with the Congress in doing their utmost to paralyse the Government in the shortest possible time. It remains to be seen what final form the Congress resolution will take when considered at the coming meeting of the A.I.C. in Bombay, but in the meantime it is essential that you should acquire the fullest information of the extent to which preparations are being made on these lines in your district. Prompt despatch of all such information received to this Branch is required.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Geo. D.Parkin

To
All Superintendents of Police,
United Provinces

———— ·X· ————

7

Resident Rajputana Ascribes Mirza Ismail's Soft Attitude to Congress to His Receiving "Gifts from Birla"

F.6/IS/42-A August 8, 1942

(Copy of a confidential D.O.letter No.C/9-22 dated August 8, 1942 from the Resident in Rajputana)

Note on my visit to Jaipur July 29, August 3, 1942

"I had a long talk with Sir Mirza Ismail on the date of my arrival. Being a new broom he is full of schemes for the improvement of Jaipur administration on the lines of his past experience in Mysore. He had a mind to replace the Central Advisory Board by artificially elected Representative Council and selected Legislative Council. The former was to have powers of interpella-tion but otherwise would be consultative and advisory. He had already instituted a new post of Secretary to whom all correspondence would be addressed and had ordered the printing of the state pageant. I remarked that the Central Advisory Board had never been given a proper trial and that it was not where the people took small interest in it. I also said that the use of a

grandoise designation like Representative Council for merely consultative body might be dangerous, in view of the expectations thereby roused and give ground, therefore, for further agitation. I reminded him of the difficulties he may had been put to in Mysore for the grant to the Council of the right of interpellation in budget matters. Sir Mirza, however, appears to take these considerations with equanimity. While Sir Mirza's proposals are laudable in themselves my fear is that he may be overestimating his powers of dealing with the resulting situation or that he may go away soon and leave someone else to face the resultant and perhaps unexpected music. "There is also a reference to the proposed replacing of certain British officers by the Indians which Mirza thought essential in the interest as they would be willing to serve on lesser salaries." "I had been worried to hear from outside source that Sir Mirza was contemplating repealing the Jaipur Public Assistance Act 1939 and there had recently been various flirtations between him and local Praja Mandal leaders that past friction and misunderstanding between them and the State authorities had been slightly due to the tyranny of the late Prime Minister." Though the Resident referred to subversive tactics of the Praja Mandal and the difficulty of dealing with them without such a measure.

He received only "our half- hearted concurrence" from the Mirza who thought that the Act may be repealed as of the people (by which he meant the Praja Mandal deputations) which had waylaid him were against it. Bajpai, the Chief Justice and Taylor, the Inspector-General of Police concurred with Mirza. The former's objective was taken as it was difficult for him to draw a line in its application to the semi-religious semi-political associations such as Arya Samaj while Taylor thought from the police point of view that the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act would be simpler. I pointed out that the use of such ad hoc marginal line even though convenient to the police because of its simplicity was very satisfactory, was desirable to avoid it; that if the public Societies Act was useless, the Praja Mandal would not have been so anxious to have it repealed. As the Mandal has a difficulty of registration, a clear declaration that the local associations in the State were not affiliated with any external political body, it places the State in a much stronger position to deal with the political

agitation from outside and that abandoning it would make a grave breach in the common front that was being gradually built up in the Rajputana State against subversive tactics of Praja Mandalists. Though Mirza was considering repealing this Act, I have succeeded in obtaining a promise from him to reconsider his position and to take no steps to change the existing law without prior intimation to me. I hope, therefore, that I have stopped him from doing anything dangerous for the time being, but the conjunction of repeated gifts of money from Birla "the truth of which I was unable to verify which was supposed to be for the improvement of the town" which if true will necessarily put him under an obligation to the Congress Party, his correspondence in usually affectionate terms with Gandhi and his rapprochement with the local Praja Mandalists are somewhat ominous." The Resident again finds fault with Mirza having taken up the Presidentship of the Council in place of His Highness to whom he has asked to withdraw. But the Resident suggests that it would only increase intrigue and would make matters complicated, got the retort from Mirza that he was confident that he would surmount all these. After praising Mirza for his manners and approachability, the Resident says "He has also been rather lavish in his promises of financial aid all round and I foresee the possibility of trouble from the fact that his large ideas incorporated to public expenditure, combined with his desire to make a clear demarcation between the ruler's personal expenditure and State expenditure, may prove embarrassing to the Maharaja."

———— ·X· ————

8

Extremely Serious Situation in Delhi

F.24/Cong./42-D.1 August 10, 1942

News of the arrest of the Congress leaders led to a number of arrests in Delhi including that of Smt. Ved Kumari, daughter of Swami Shraddha Nand, Smt. Memo Bai, Dr. Yudhvir Singh, Mr. Ansari, Prof. Nigam, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed and others. All shops in Ch. Chowk, Khari Baoli, Chawri Bazar, Nai Sarak and Karolbagh

were closed. A huge procession was taken out which was also joined by the Communists. Delhi P.C.C. was declared unlawful by Government.

11.8.42 - A huge procession was taken out under Parvati Devi.

C.I.D. report dated 12.8.42 says unlike the Punjab the situation in Delhi seems to be extremely serious. The previous labour unrest and economic hardships together with the Congress propaganda led to intense British hatred. Jugal Kishore Khanna, Satya Vati and other Congress agents were particularly active and when on the 8th of August, 1942 the news of the arrest of Gandhi and others were broadcast from a loud-speaker led to immediate hartal on the 9th of August. The Hindu shops were completely closed although Muslim shops were generally open. A procession was taken out jointly by students, labourers, Communists and trade unionists shouting revolutionary slogans (the Radical Democratic Party was the only organisation abstaining). A mass meeting was held including those of the Muslims in the Queens Garden, which was attended by government servants also. The effect on audience who had not listened to such unrestrained oratory for some time was tremendous. Another procession was taken out on the 10th when hartal persisted and the police were jeered at and roughly handled. The premises of contractors engaged on war supplies were forcibly entered into and the labour employed tempered with. In the Connaught Place the processionists smashed electric street lamps, stoned the 'V' sign inside the park and hoisted the Congress Flag on it; revolutionary slogans were shouted and it is reported that some Americans and British were stopped and asked to quit. The newspaper report dated 12.8.42 refers to the serious disturbances in Delhi on Tuesday the 11th when a mob set fire to the Town Hall, Railway Clearing Accounts Office and an R.A.F. Lorry containing patrol. Income Tax Office was burnt down. Police and military opened fire several times; curfew order imposed, troops have been called out and were patrolling the city. Number of people were assaulted and Mr.W.F.G. Le Bailey, Deputy Commissioner and Mr.R.W.L. Adam, Asstt. Superintendent of Police received cuts as broken bottles and stones were thrown at them near the kotwali. Police opened fire as a result of which one man was killed. The mob formed into a pro-cession reached Chandni Chowk and went to the Fountain

where they were stopped by the police. The mob refused to disperse, grew violent and threw stones and broken bottles. One broken bottle caused a deep cut near the right eye of the Deputy Commissioner. Lathi charge was made and the crowd was pushed back about a hundred feet but the crowd again advanced and threw stones, the police then fired. Following the fire, the mob grew violent and set fire to the Town Hall. Military was placed at various points between Dariba and Fatehpuri. The police and the troops were patrolling the area and the shops on the ground floor along the whole lounge of the bazar were shattered and burnt. The smell of burning rubber tyre and paper filled the air. The electric clock on the hundred feet tower in front of the Municipal Office stopped at noon. The ladder leading upto the clock having been burnt, there was no means to reach the mechanism of the clock and stopped siren which continued to wail for hours afterwards (statement). According to a report of Hindustan Times dated 12.8.42, 12 persons including a 8 year old boy were killed and about 35 injured in Delhi as a result of police and military opening fire in different parts of the city. The infuriated mob killed a Sub Inspector of police who had gone to the Railway Clearing Accounts Office to disperse the crowd. The trouble, according to the paper, started at about 10 A.M. in the morning when a procession led by Hakim Khalil-ul-Rahman who had hoisted flag at the Clock Tower reached the Kotwali and the police attempted to hold it up and Khalil-ul-Rahman was arrested. The crowds refused to disperse and pelted stones which hit the D.C. and the A.S.P. 16 Rounds were fired and thereafter the crowd became violent and set fire to the Town Hall and the Clock Tower. The second firing took place just outside the Dariba when a Corporal who is reported to have been stoned shot at a man killing him on the spot. Firing was also opened at Nai Sarak from where 22 persons were brought to the hospital. The Income Tax Office and the Kishanganj Railway Station were set fire to. The crowd smashed almost all the electric lamps which has plunged the whole city into complete darkness. It is difficult to say about the exact number of casualties. 55 were attended to in the Irwin Hospital, out of these 30 to 35 people have bullet wounds, 10 of them succumbed to their injuries while 4 others were lying in a precarious condition at about mid night. Out of those who had been injured or killed as a result of firing about a dozen

had bullet wounds on their chest, abdomen and face.

According to the C.I.D. report "the riots have been well organised. The reason for this is that arson and sabotage of telegraph lines seems to have been done scientifically. A set was made at the electric supply distribution many of which were burnt at the A.R.P. offices. Another incident is the burning out of the fire engines; some of them were burnt on their way to the scene of fire, but two fire-brigade tanks were burnt in their sheds. If the collection of the rioters was not organised at least they were well laid even if they did not realise it.... The police are still endeavouring to estimate of what class the rioters exactly were. Of the 15,000 mill-labourers in Delhi only a small portion were probably involved. Though Mr.Mellor agrees that amongst those who were actually causing the damage the labour element predominated." The report also refers the forcible opening of the mills that the management are nervous that even if the mills are well guarded labour will cause sabotage inside. That is why they are reluctant to open them.

The newspaper report dated 13.8.42 referred to the opening of fire in Delhi five times and the total number of casualties since the trouble started 22. Paharganj post office and five terminal tax posts were raided and set fire to by the mob. The report also refers to the firing on Qutab Road, Chawri Bazar and cases of arson, electric lamp posts being smashed near Gole Market and at Panchkuyian Road. Almost all the shops in the city remained closed, banks including the Reserve Bank was also closed. Records of the post office at Sabzi Mandi, Paharganj and Sadar Bazar were burnt down. According to a report of the United Press, 4 persons were killed and 30 injured as a result of firing at Paharganj.

According to a C.I.D. report dated 14.8.42 a Congress rebellion programme seems to have been carried out fully in Delhi including as it does, organisation of hartal, mass demonstrations, fomentation of strikes in industry etc.,a sabotage of the railway, essential services, transport etc. burning of public buildings i.e. Town Hall, post offices, destructions of communications, molestation of Europeans and assaults of troops and police. There has been considerable damage to the school property, but no estimate of the amount of the loss is at present available, only a number of

casualties reported "the police", the report adds, and troops used fire arms to give effect whenever necessary. The present situation is reported to be fully safe and under control but the force of rebellion though, it appears, morally being driven underground and activity is continuing from below the surface. It is understood that business concerns connected in any way with the war effort are being threatened with repraisals and they continue to sabotage the Government. Delhi Communists and Communist students who emerge in their true colours during the disturbances are reported to be considering their own means in association with the Congress of carrying out the anti-British struggle. The British are bitterly hated and the slogan is that the white should be given no quarter. The firing by British soldiers and the acts of Anglo-Indian Sergeants of police in forcibly removing Gandhi caps and burning them have fanned this hatred to a boiling point. Public has naturally been panic stricken by what has occurred and are trying to leave Delhi. So far about 20,000 people are reported to have evacuated. With the closure of the Central Ordnance Depot, the Birla Mills, Ganesh Floor Mills which has been looted, the Delhi Cloth Mills and other such places, the production of war supply has been seriously affected. The state supplies have also been carefully affected and prices have been soaring. The danger of food riots following the recent acts of hooliganism has to be faced.

Another C.I.D. report from Calcutta dated 14.8.42 regarding Delhi disturbances says: "The Delhi disturbances have been roughly planned by Asaf Ali. In addition to the disturbances already committed the programme consists of creating disturbances at the residence of the Executive Council members and hunger strike by Marathi women in front of Mr.Aney's house.

A newspaper report (Statesman) puts the casualties to 45 dated 14.8.42 and according to an ordinance death penalty or whipping are to be employed wherever there is a damage to the railway property, telegraph lines etc.

Among the persons who were said to be active according to the C.I.D. report were Radha Raman, Phool Chand Jain (formerly Secretary Congress Committee) at present local correspondent, A.P.I., Satya Vati, Onkar Nath, Raghunanda Saran, Indra Dev (Forward Bloc) and amongst students Balraj Arora, L.C.Jain, Giri and K.P.Shankar (Hindu College), Keshyap (Ramjas College). These

people, it was said, met every afternoon in the India Coffee House and planned their future course of action. The plan for picketing government offices was made at a meeting of about 70 persons near the India Gate including some clerks from the Supply Department and one Narinder Nath Rana from Defence Department.

The C.I.D. reports also complains about the Press Officer (Savitri Parshad) who, it is said, allowed the news particularly about the tempering of the railways to be published in spite of orders to the contrary and his staff repeatedly expressed sympathy for the attitude of the nationalist paper and apologised for acting negligently.

Another police abstract dated 15.8.42 refers to the arrest of Gandhi and others and says that mostly Hindus closed their shops forthwith, but Muslims plainly refused to do so and are carrying on their usual business. In one of the meetings Parbati Devi, an old Congress worker of Delhi, has said that the Communist Party have joined the Congress and in its cause for freedom. The Police abstract also refers to the picketing of the Butler High School by students who formed themselves into a procession and destroyed and damaged the red lamp posts on Ibbeston Road. Another party of about 150 molested and assaulted those people who were dressed in European style. Some records of the Imperial Secretariat in North Block were also burnt. On 13th, 14th and 15th all mills, factories, schools and colleges remained closed in the rural places; partial hartal was observed at Shahdara, Najafgarh, Badarpur, Narella, Bawana from 10th to 15th and schools were also closed. Among the persons arrested under D.I.R. Khalil-ur-Rahman, Farid-ul Hak Ansari, Behari, Memo Bai widow of Shiv Nath, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, Muqim-uddin Faroki, N.K. Nigan, Nur Uddin Behari, Parbati Devi, Yudhvir Singh, Ram Charan Agarwal, Birj Rani.

A secret report dated August 14, 1942 after referring to the improvement in Delhi situation and the opening of banks etc. adds "the recent happenings in Delhi and elsewhere in the country have left a deep impression on the public mind. There is widespread resentment against the Government in Delhi. The alleged indiscriminate and without any justification firing by the British soldiers particularly in the Paharganj area forms the main topic of discussion. It is generally

said that if the British soldiers are so brave and gallant fighters why did they not fight in Malaya and Burma etc. They know only how to shoot innocent and unarmed people by entering their houses. The government action is strongly being condemned everywhere." The report also refers to the distribution of certain leaflets appealing to the government servants to sabotage the government machinery and another leaflet appeals to every American in India to refuse to help Britain in killing Indian lovers of liberty. They have been told that Indians regard Americans as their friends and guests and are with them in beating foreign enemies. It may not be out of place to mention here that the U.S. Department announcement regarding the presence of American forces in India and their purpose, has been welcomed both by the general public and the nationalists. The press says the statement is a disappointing response to Sir Stafford Cripps broadcast to Americans. The above report also refers to the fact that Maulvi Hussain Ahmed Madni has sent a message from U.P.jail through Maulvi Abdul Halim who interviewed him very recently for the Jamayat-Ulmai-Hind who joined hands with the Congress in the present struggle. The present move is said to be independent of any Congress pressure. The Jamayat leaders feel satisfied regarding future intentions about the future of Indian Muslims. The working committee of the Jamayat meets in Delhi on August 17 to discuss the issue.

This report also throws light on the attitude of the average Congress and Communist worker at a meeting of the local Communists on 12.8.42:one Yag Datt Sharma reviewing the situation in Delhi described the general strike as fatal to war efforts and suggested a vigorous campaign for restoring normal conditions. He said that though they have sympathy with the Congress yet it would be suicidal to go against their declared policy while the Congressman Premjas Rai when he met one Ramesh Mehta (an old revolutionary who was of late reported to be helping the Communists in the distribution of literature) said that they as Congressmen had nothing to do with these acts. Ramesh advised them not to attempt these acts as that would stiffle the movement and all of them agreed including Satya Vati who was also present and they confessed that they were directing the movement in Delhi though they could not organise it well due to lack of time. They are trying to collect reliable persons for underground activities.

———— ·X· ————

9

London Times on Disturbances in India

F.24/Cong/42-VIII August 10, 1942

London Times in its issue dated 10.8.42 commented on "the Indian arrest" ... there can be little doubt that Mr.Gandhi has made up his mind for some weeks past- perhaps eversince the breakdown of the Cripps Negotiations - to force the issue of this point and that the only factor which has postponed the crisis was the difficulty of securing whole-hearted support among his followers.

In the London Times dated 11.9.42 there is published a statement made in the House of Commons by Mr.Churchill on the Indian disturbances. Mr. Shinwell referred in the debates to a statement published in the News Chronicle by an American commentator that "work has been brought to a stand-still at Tata Immunization Mills and that 50 men are out."

The statement dated 25.9.42 while commenting on "Debates at the Centre" made these significant remarks: "the sabotage and hooliganism which in some places includes heinous murder is plainly not all explicable as the consequences of political and national sentiment. We find it difficult to suppose that there was no previous planning behind many of these operations or that the ferocity of the deeds done would promptly turn against the Japanese or Germans were political concessions made. How much of the violence and destructions were spontaneous, how much immitative, how much deliberately planned, perhaps none knows; all these exceptions seem in part justified by a dispassionate survey of these events."

———— ·X· ————

10

Brij Lal Biyani's Secret Instructions for Berar Congressmen

F.24/Cong/6 August 11, 1942

Brij Lal Biyani who according to an earlier C.I.D. Report was carrying secret instructions for Berar Congressmen from Bombay published the following message in Matri Bhumi of Akola dated August 11, 1942. The

relevant extract reads, "the struggle is not of any community or creed, it is of India's populous. Though the struggle is launched by the National Congress, it has today become a struggle of all the people of India. The freedom or power to be attained in this struggle will be the freedom and power of all the Indians. Mahatma Gandhi has explained the standpoint of this struggle. The success of this struggle lies in non-cooperating in all the matters that have concern of the British power, thus render it lifeless, impotent and useless. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to all the people of Berar that every one of them should show strength in severing whatever connections one has with the British Rule.

There is a message from Mr. Biyani to the students of Berar. The relevant extract reads: In this final struggle for the attainment of freedom the duty of the students is evident. Seed of freedom of every nation lies in the strength of its use. Gandhi expects maximum sacrifice in this national struggle from every student above 16. Today there is no time to wait, no time to think or to discuss. This is the time to act and to evince or strength. The students to have before them on the one hand their individual future career and on the other there is struggle for the freedom of their country. Being aware of the fact that the life of the individual is included in the life of the nation, the students class should take the lead in this national struggle and see consummation of his life in the success of this Movement.

———— ·x· ————

11

Gandhi's Instructions in Case of Wholesale Arrest of Congress Workers

F.24/Cong/6 August 12, 1942

Another abstract from the report dated August 12, from S.B. Inspector, it is learnt at Bombay that Gandhi during the course of his instructions to the Working Committee members in camera expressed that in the event of the wholesale rounding up of the Congress workers there is bound to be chaos in the country leading to the anarchy in the country in a most violent form and the

primary Congress members who would be free should instead of suppressing violence fan the zeal for anarchy till the goal of Congress is achieved. Besides, Gandhi had also instructed that the Congressmen jailed should try to form secret contacts with the jail warderers and explain to them the Congress objectives and thus seduce them to revolt in a body against the British Government. Consequently the jail warderers should be eventually asked to throw open the gates of the jail thereby letting loose of the inmates including the criminals who would swell the anarchist gang. Similarly the members who are free should try to corrupt the morale of the police and thus the Indian police men would eventually refuse to either charge on the mob or open fire. Some members of the AICC stated that Bombay has given a lead to rodyism which certainly would be copied by other provinces and this rodyism would mainly concentrate on destruction of property etc. and also in paralysing the functioning of the Government. According to the report the members of the AICC were very much dejected owing to apprehension of their arrest.

·X·

12
Praja Mandal Active in Rajputana States

F.6/IS/42-II August 13, 1942

Jodhpur

The Lok Parishad agitation continues to receive little support from the public and the meetings and pheries attract small attention. No arrests have been made by the Jodhpur Government during the period under report and the agitators who feel depressed at the attitude of the authorities are planning to start a 'No Talks Campaign' in the hope of enlisting the sympathies of the Kisans. They are also attempting to get support from students and Labourers but although there was a demonstration on August 10 by students from the college and various schools on account of the arrest of communist leader, they failed to persuade the boys of the Darbar High School to join them and the following day these students rejoined their classes.

In connection with the Civil Disobedience Campaign

the Bharatpur Government have arrested and detained Reoti Sharan, President, Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi and five other Praja Parishad workers.

Kotah

Following the arrest of Congress leaders on the 13th, there were serious disturbances in Kotah city on the 14th August. The telegraph lines near the head post office in the city were cut. Firing had to be resorted to by the police, a number of persons were besieged in the kotwali but no one was killed or seriously injured. Troops were called out but before they reached the scene, the mob was induced by Apji Onkar Singh, uncle of His Highness and late Dewan to disperse and the situation is quiet now.

Sirohi

Since Gandhiji's arrest there have been one or two meetings in Sirohi and Abu Road organised by the Praja Mandal at which seditious speeches were made by Messrs Pokh Raj and Dharam Chand Surana to very thin audience. State intends to take action against them. The matter is under the consideration of the Council. The influence of the Praja Mandal is now very much declined and limited to the Mahajan community.

Udaipur

The Praja Mandal workers of Udaipur have inquired from the other Praja Mandals in the State how many members are prepared to offer Satyagraha and have also invited a conference on 21st and 22nd August to decide the future course of action. Following the news of the arrest of Congress leaders, processions of students passed through the town of Udaipur on the 9th and 11th August shouting slogans but there were no disturbances.

The fortnightly intelligence report of Rajputana States in the first half of 1942 refers to the hartals in Jaipur,Palanpur, Sirohi and Udaipur. In most of the cases Hindu shops were closed completely, Muslim shops remaining open. Majority of the Hindu students absented themselves from schools and colleges while Muslims attended. In some cases, as for example Udaipur, processions were taken out by students shouting anti-government slogans and meetings were held in the evening where the local Praja Mandal exhorted the students to get ready for sacrifices.

———— ·X· ————

13

Murder of Police Officers at Ashti

F.24/Cong/42-C.I August 13, 1942

Assault on constables. One of the constables was deprived of his uniform and humiliated by the mob on the 13th of August. On the 14th a Patwari's record was burnt in Gungam, sub-inspectors and 2 constables attacked when tried to arrest leaders. A mob led by some students burnt the records of the police out-post and stocks of uniform at Bela (Sirsi), removed 2 muskets and 40 rounds of immunisation and a pair of handcuffs and burnt the records of the Patwari and post office. A party of the police who went to make some arrests were stoned in Mowad (Nerkhed) and in spite of firing the mob continued to stone and the police had to retire. Mohpa (Kalmeshwar) was also seriously threatened. At Ramtek the treasury guard head constables kept the mob at a distance for some time by warning that he would open fire but as the Tahsildar would not allow the police to fire the mob set fire to Tahsil building and sieged muskets and immunisation from the police with the connivance of the local board and municipal employees their offices were raided. Similarly the buildings were burnt at Kohi where the military opened fire. The attack on Moudha House Station on the 14th was organised by Maganlal Bagdi who with 10 or 15 members of the Hindustan Red Army called the meeting and subsequently attacked the station house and fired probably from police muskets stolen in Nagpur City.

2. Police constables were hit and injured. The police party which went to the village encountered many road blocks and found that attempt had been made to destroy bridges. Bagdi's house was searched and some political papers recovered. At Paraseoni a party of police and military dispersed a crowd of 2,000 which was on its way to do Satyagraha. Similar things happened at Arvi. On the 16th a mob of 3,000 attacked the Ashti Station House and the police opened fire killing 7 persons and wounding one. The police were finally overpowered and a sub-inspector, a head constable and 3 constables were brutely murdered. The police buildings, post offices and rest house were all burnt. Collective fine of Rs.50,000/- was imposed on Ashti and surrounding villages. An increasing number of village officers resigned as a result of Congress propaganda.Dharakho Railway Station

and Ranipur Station House were burnt on 21st and 22nd. A mob of gonds burnt a depot at Ghoradongri on the 22nd. Police opened fire, killing 2 and wounded 5. Similar happenings occurred at Amla and Betul and Katni and Mandla and Dindori. Processions and meetings at Hoshangabad and Tendukhera where a mob stoned the police, telegraph wires were cut and letter boxes burnt at Gharva, Pachmarhi, Banapura and Sohagpur. Several cases of removal of fish plates at various places. At Bhandara mob attacked police station house, lathi charge being ineffective 23 rounds were fired, killing 2, injuring 9, one of whom died later. Police fired 25 rounds killing 2 persons at Tumsa where a mob led by Samgram Sangathan Dal planned to attack the Station House. Congress flag was hoisted at many of these outhouses. In Buldana, Yeotmal, Akola, Balaghat, the usual activities took place.

———— ·X· ————

14

Revolutionary Activities by Congress in Punjab and U.P.

F.24/Cong/42-V August 13, 1942

Amritsar

According to the Intelligence Bureau Report of the 13th of August, a Congress emissary was able to organise a meeting as a result of which a crowd of about 200 people subsequently damaged street lamps and invaded the Municipal Office, broke window panes, destroyed files of a local railway agency. Next day again a procession was taken out which was dispersed by police. 38 arrests were made.

Uttar Pradesh

The U.P. Government fortnightly report for the first half of August refers to a new and more dangerous phase of the Movement started about the 14th of August, with the interruption of communications and the stirring up of trouble in the rural area. The area most affected was to the east of Fyzabad-Allahabad line. This area had been the strong-hold of H.S.R.A. and other revolutionary organisations many of which were in league with the Terrorist Society of Bengal. Very

serious damage was done to the B & N W Railway. At one point both the broad gauge lines on the E.I.R. from Benares to Lucknow, one via Partabgarh and the other via Jaunpur and Fyzabad were completely blocked. So far the main Mughal Sarai-Allahabad-Delhi lines has been kept open, thanks to the special arms constabulary though serious damage has been done to railway stations between Mughal Sarai and Allahabad and also in the Etawa District. It is suspected that the organisers of sabotage and students who get into touch with Congress Mandals or study circles in villages and get the villagers to carry out their plans for them. In one or two cases attempts more or less successful have been made to destroy culverts on roads. Students have also been responsible for disturbances in rural areas. The part played by the Benares and Allahabad Universities and the Lucknow University is significant. Practically everywhere the students of the principal colleges after doing what damage they could do in the neighbouring villages. All these three universities were closed. Muslim University at Aligarh is an exception. Vice-Chancellor Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmed has been most useful to the authorities and has kept his students completely aloof from the Movement.

———— ⁂ ————

15

British Representative Baroda to Viceroy on Agitation in Baroda and Gujarat States

F.10/IS/42-II August 14, 1942

Residency Baroda dt. 14.8.42

My dear Fitzi,

I attach a note on the situation here in case it should be of interest.

The need to watch the political situation closely falling almost immediately on the floods from which we have partially recovered has considerably dislocated the work. We have contrived to get the offices functioning again, but are living under very uncomfortable conditions and Hay have had to be away a good deal as

'Magistrate' with the troops in case action had to be taken-fortunately not the case.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- C.K. Daly.

August 15, 1942 - Congress Agitation

The area comprised in this Residency has, on the whole, remained quiet. In the Gujrat States the necessary ban to control the situation was taken and reports indicate that apart from a few mild demonstrations by school boys there have been no disturbances. Separate reports have been made on the situation in Baroda State. Factories have remained closed although there is every indication, the mill owners need instructions from their colleagues in Ahmedabad have not seen fit to offer any encouragement, a partial hartal has been declared in the city and various processions and meetings continue to be held. A slight disturbance took place with a mob consisting mainly of Calcutta students and loafers approached the cantonment area. A car was stoned and the officer slightly cut by broken glass. The mob was dispersed by a mild lathicharge in which nobody was hurt. The activities of the Praja Mandal in Baroda city continue and the State has shown no aptitude to control the circulation of a spate of obnoxious leaflets, specimen of which have been sent to the Political Department for information. Troops have stood by on two occasions to their assistance, were not otherwise required. Reports so far received indicate that the arrests of the Congress leaders sent cast no undue excitement in the Rewa's area. Continued agitation from outside is likely, however, to have its effect.

Sd/- C.K. Daly
Resident for Baroda and
Gujrat States

Mr.Kenneth Fitzi,
Secy. to His Excellency
the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

To the above letter is enclosed as an appendix some of the notices exhibited on the Notice Board outside Praja Mandal Offices.

Azad India

Publisher Azad Indian

To the believers of Azadi:

On 7th-8th August the All India Congress Committee published a resolution and from the next day strictest measures have been adopted viz. opening of fire, lathi charges, arrests of leaders etc. The Government have adopted this policy so that the people may be frightened and the Government machinery may work smoothly. In spite of this the spirit of the people is increasing, but it is still learnt some people are attending their daily routine work. No man or woman in Gujrat was indeed, but is believing in the principle in Azadi can have a sound sleep. Do this much; (1) Stop the communications by cutting telegraphic wires at many places, (2) stop railway communications by removing roads, (3) One should not keep any connection with the Satan Government and for this advise Government servants to resign their services (4) The villagers should declare that they are azad and do not believe in Patel, Talati, Fouzdar, Maulatdar, collector etc. (5) Take possession of the police chowkis in villages and destroy the lathi or the gun which is in their possession (6) Poor people .should accumulate in thousands and raid on every government department and destroy their records by fire and make government building useless which are useless courts (7) The mill labourers should not attend the mills and should try to carry out the above programme as far as possible. Destroy the Satani administration; see that our prestige is not lost; Gandhiji on 74 is on fast, if he dies and if India remains quiet the blot will ever remain on Indian youth and on that day the whole world will say that the youths of India are not the real youths, but their impotence will thus come to be associated with the Indian youths.

Drum is heard, awake the fighters awake
Run away run away 0'Cowards:
Peasants voice is heard, Inkilab Zindabad.

Azad Press Hindustan

Note on pro-Congress agitation Gujrat States Agency: Mr.C.K. Daly, Resident, Baroda and Gujarat States writes to Sir K. Fitzi, K.C.I.E. Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative dated 14.8.42

Prior to the arrest of the Congress leaders in Bombay the Dewan Baroda State informed me that he had arranged for the immediate arrest of some 11 persons who might lead agitation in the State. The arrest was to take place immediately. The decision of the A.I.C.C. became known. On inquiring later whether this action had in fact been carried out, I was informed that the arrest had not been made because all these leaders had promised not to take any action against the Baroda State. The policy of Government was explained, but the State authorities remained disinclined to arrest leaders or ban meetings. On 12th afternoon, a mob of some 1,000 persons a number of whom were Baroda college students, appeared without warning in the cantonment area. They had passed a Baroda police station, but no warning was given to the cantonment authorities, nor reports sent to the city chief of police and no police accompanied the mob. On hearing the approach of this crowd, I instructed the Agency D.S.P. to turn out his reserve police and inform the State authorities, but later sent the chief of police and a party of police in lorries. Before the Agency police had arrived on the scene, the crowd had reached a spot a few hundreds yards from the Residency gates. Mr.Hey, Under Secretary, accompanied by a young military officer was coming to the Residency in his car and somewhat unwisely tried to drive through the crowds. The car was stoned and considerably damaged and the military officer received a cut on the face. The agency police arrived and with a mild lathi-charge drove out the crowd back to a point within the State limits where it assembled on a road. The State Police having arrived in the meantime, faced the crowd for about an hour during which time they were subject to abuse, but took no steps in spite of the presence of the police Commissioner to disperse the crowd. Eventually, the crowd whose intention had been to demonstrate at the Residency finding their way blocked, dispersed. Two arrests for stone-throwing were affected by the Police Agency and a few students were arrested by the Baroda Police. I have since received an apology from the Baroda Government for their failure to warn us or to keep the crowd within the State limits. Following the disturbance, I again urged on the Dewan the desirability of banning meetings and was informed that he had just signed such an order. Later, I received reports that meetings were to be held and on further enquiry was

informed that this had been licenced. Later, I learnt that a procession of mill hands was being planned to start next morning from the vicinity of the railway station. The Dewan confirmed that my information was correct and stated that the procession would not be permitted and that State police and State forces would be prepared to disperse any crowd attempting to collect. As the Dewan could not give me an unqualified assurance that any crowd would be kept out of the railway lines which are under my jurisdiction and as the place chosen for the beginning of the procession was far from the places usually selected in the past for such labour meetings, it seemed possible that some attempt was intended against railway property. Our police at the station were reinforced by the reserve and O.C. was asked to have one Palatoon standing by there and further Palatoons at the Petrol Depot and marshalling yards. The following morning State troops turned back a number of military hands, several left the quarters of the town occupied by them. Several crowds of some hundreds assembled in different parts of the city, none near than 500 yards from the Railway. Officially, I learnt that a small procession had been permitted within the city after which the crowd dispersed.

Later in the day, the Dewan informed me that he had that morning given orders for the arrest of 6 Communists, but had subsequently withdrawn the orders on receiving their assurances that they were opposed to agitation. He said that these persons took their instructions from Communist leaders at Ahmedabad and inquired how the attitude of Communists there was. I accordingly got into touch with the Commissioner at Ahmedabad who told me that the Communists there were most unsatisfactory and that several have been arrested. On learning this, the Dewan said he intended to arrest the leaders here. I have just now been informed by him that they have gone underground and cannot be arrested.

The Dewan is still convinced that his policy of not arresting the Praja Mandalists was correct - apparently in his view the inhabitants of the State are so overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Congress that the arrests would have increased ill-feelings. He now assures me that further meetings will not be allowed and I have some hopes that this may be the case because he has just received reports that at Sajitra - a State town in the Petlad area - the school (state-owned) has

been burnt down. Reports from the other Gujarat States so far received state that all is good and that the sole exception of Baroda - where the policy like Baroda is lying open to conciliate Congress. I have no doubt at all that the State administration will keep the Constitution well in hand.

16
Agitation in Central Indian States

F.8/15/42-II August 14, 1942

Telegram dated August 14, 1942 from Central India to Polindia requests information as "I have received telegram from head of Bohra community in Bombay who says communication with Ujjain is cut and asks if we can help about 7,000 Bohras living in Ujjain whose property is said to have been looted. The reply from Indore of the same date says that students have been demonstrating for three days, mills closed, disturbances in city, railway crossings gates removed, signal wires cut, serious rioting reported at Ujjain. Police ask Home Department to despatch immediately tear gas equipment for Malwa Bhil Corps. All available police on picket duty supplemented by Malwa Bhil Corp. If situation deteriorates we may require assistance from Neemuch. Another telegram from Resident Mysore to Polindia dated August 11, 1942 received on August 14 says, committees declared unlawful on morning of August 9, office raided, 22 local leaders arrested and detained and contact with outside world prohibited.

MYSORE STATE

The Committees declared unlawful, office raided on August 9 and important leaders arrested. Number of shops did not open. Krishyarajendra Mills Mysore on strike. Foundary Section Bhadravati mill also on strike. No serious disturbances so far.

In his private letter to Fitze, Mr. G.T.Fisher, Resident, Central India Agency, Indore wrote on the 15th August, 1942. With regard to Rewa, I thought you might like to have a preliminary and unofficial note on the disturbances here. The students of the Holkar College seems to have started disturbances which has spread to all the schools and colleges in the city and

later to the Medical School in the Residency area and to the mills; they are not working. Horton has been very busy in city dealing with mobs and we have had to picket the Residency area. Communications with Mhow were damaged yesterday and I have arranged for a wireless set to keep them in touch with Mhow from the Residency. We have had to use the railway police reserve for picket duty as we have no adequate reserves ourselves. The mob smashed up the railway crossing gates and damaged the rolling stock as well as cut the signal wires yesterday. They also burnt a petrol pump in the city. Troops have been called in from Mhow to protect the railway station. The students are very excited specially the Medical School which will have to be closed down. We could, however, prevent the Daly College from being tempered with. A printed pamphlet issued last night expressed the intention of the mob to burn the Agency Office, post office and telegraph office. I have ascertained from Rajputana that 100 men of the Crown police are available, if necessary, while we can get a hundred men from Mhow at an hour or two's notice. On the whole, I do not think the situation is threatening as it appeared to be at one time. I am not sure how many arrests have been made but they include 12 students of the Medical College.

Telegram from Resident, Central India to Polindia dated 19th August, 1942 refers to the ultimatum given by the Congress to Holkar to severe his connection with the British and Crown Representative Government immediately on the lines that have been issued elsewhere and which are reported to have been accepted by Rewa in my D.O. Holkar's reaction is, however, satisfactory, wise and vigorous.

Telegram from Resident Gujrat to Polindia dated 19th August 1942 refers to the local Congress declared unlawful. Lathi charge and firing on crowds by state forces results in two deaths.

INDORE

Reports the news of the arrest of Congress leaders, strike by Holkar, Christian and King Edward Medical Colleges, picketing of schools, delivering of political speeches and closing of shops and the usual incidents of rioting, wire cutting etc. Mill workers also struck work. Malwa Agency no demonstrations.

DHAR

The students did not attend the schools, processions

etc. No disturbances in Bundelkhand Agency, Mhow and Neemuch, no hartals, no demonstrations.

Extracts from a letter dated August 31, from Central India, Indore to Polindia - majority of the railway police stations at Indore refuse to accept the payment of grain compensation allowance on the ground that other members of the same force posted in Rajputana were being doubled the rates allowed in Central India. All these persons, however, carried on their duties in connection with the disturbances. Refers to the usual distribution of leaflets, students strike in Colleges, partial attendance without the signs of insubordination, unhealthy contempt of authority among the absentees of Holkar and Christian Colleges with which the State seems to be unable to cope. Many of them, it is reported, have gone into the Districts to cause trouble in the villages and the District headquarters and especially to temper with police. Another report dated August 29 from Nagpur reports daily arrests in Burhar while a telegram dated September 42 from Indore refers to the revival of disturbances with mill population apparently engineered from outside, 7 wounded in firing by State police.

Fortnightly report dated August 31, 1942 says about Rewa that the People's Representative Committee has been carrying on its activities. It was also reported that U.P.Congress Committee has issued a warning to the Rewa Congressites for not agitating for his Highness return under the Congress Flag. Bundelkhand Agency, Malwa and Bhopal Agencies were quieter.

———— ·X· ————

17

The Tribune Condemns British Atrocities

F.24/Cong/42-VIII August 14, 1942

The Tribune, London, August 14, 1942, commented on the disturbances as follows:

" There is no Indian crisis. But there is a British crisis.... The Imperial lion has roused himself invoking the spirit of Clive and Hastings and Dyer, he roars again. Gandhi arrested, Nehru arrested, 250 other Congress leaders arrested, and 72 years old Granny

Gandhi is also arrested, less are trembling whisper might rock the foundation of the Great Raj." The paper refuses to join the official chorus of approbation and relive at the sight of this reasseration of Imperial strength and expresses "the grave and deep disquiet and concern which this latest action of the Government causing to every true democrat and socialist who is concerned to win this war - this people's war". After making a reference to China's lone struggle and beliefs for democratic solidarity all round it says "our armourd cars are going into action against Congress supporters in Bombay. Our political warfare has reached new inspiring heights. We proclaimed a Whipping Act for the people of India. Every step taken by the Government of India since the dawn of the 9th August has been a stab in the back of the men and women who work and fight and die in the cause of freedom. How reminiscent was Amery shocked exclamation "This is rebellion" of the last of the Bourbons equally shocked comment on the news of the storming of the Bastille. And our reply to Amery is the same as that given to Luis "No, Sir, this is no revolt, this is revolution". On the one hand a great economic crisis sweeping across India's lower middle classes, peasants, ryots and those workers not in the armament industry. Prices are beyond soaring and none of the many controls which effect the situation in this country operate in India. This is one of the basic factors which has not received attention in this country. Second factor is the presence of Japanese army on the border of India. It is significant that there are no trouble in Calcutta and Madras, the one's most immediately threatened by the invader but make no mistake the supporters of Subash are strongest in this area. They are lying low, dangerously so. It is believed they have already received Japanese arms by means of submarine landings and the Japanese are training para troops among the so-called free Indian army. This is the real background of the Congress campaign. Men like Nehru have made offer after offer to us only to be spurned. The suicidal policy of the Government of India must be reversed. The voice of sane negotiation and cooperation must take the place of the lathi and the gilded age in the cause which is common to all the common people, be the Indians, Russians, Chinese or British.

———— ·X· ————

18

Police and Military Firings at various Places in C.P.

F.24/Cong/42-C.I August 15, 1942

According to a C.I.O Nagpur fortnightly report for the first of August, 1942, news of Gandhi's arrest came as a severe shock in Nagpur. Hartals every where successful except in the case of Muslims were observed and protest meetings which in Nagpur were representative of all parties were held. Textile mills in Nagpur also closed down. Police outposts in the city were burnt down. City post office and railway station were attacked, food shops were looted, military were called in on August 12 and curfew imposed, firing by the police and the military led to 200 deaths in Nagpur city. At Ramtek police station tehsil buildings, railway station and treasury burnt down, a train was burnt and reports have come of attacks on other police and railway stations in the interia. In the rest of the province, usual Congress activities with occasional police firing. Muslims everywhere with the exception of hooligans participating in looting have kept themselves aloof. No organised attack on persons and few police officers have been assaulted. Congress pamphlets and leaflets printed and typed proclaiming the Congress programme have been widely distributed. In the opening stages of this movement, students led in all things, all schools and colleges were closed and picketed, organised demonstrations and addressed meetings. Their activities only went into the background when violence broke out. Communists are considerably perturbed over this movement. Hindu Sabha is joining hands with the Congress. League has voiced into Congress and into Civil Disobedience Propaganda. As regards Congress Socialists and Hindustan Red Army, these seem to be responsible for all the incendiarism and sabotage which occurred in Nagpur and its leaders V.S. Dandikar, Magan Lal Bagdi and S.N. Kashmiri have gone underground. Everywhere block leader R.S. Ruikar have been most active at Jabbalpur, successful hartal and a meeting of 3,000 persons. All members of the A.I.C.C. and ministers arrested at Malkapur during their return journey from Bombay. According to a report of the Hindustan Times dated 13.8.42 police fired on August 12 afternoon 95 rounds with 12 casualties. Attempts were made to burn down co-operative bank, curfew has been imposed,

students took out a number of processions and picketed colleges. Firing at Wardha where one person was killed and an attempt to burn down post office and Imperial Bank and the tehsil office were made at Amraoti. In Raipur a stronghold of the Congress, the agitation is being conducted on non-violent lines. Trouble is spreading to the countryside and it appears that persons have been despatched from Nagpur to work up the agitation. Congress leaders like Bhalwan Rao Deshpande of the Kisan Sabha and M/s Varwe, Akarty and Belsaro have been arrested at Amraoti where the curfew is imposed. Police had to open fire on August 13 in Nagpur, the hooligans damaged railway property, railway goods shed at Itwara was also looted and other usual activities followed. In Nagpur police and military opened fire in four or five storm centres to disperse crowds. At two places firing was resorted to about half a dozen times, looting and destruction of property have been completely cardoned, ingress and egress are being directly controlled. No one is allowed to visit the disturbed areas. It is not possible to communicate with people living in the area telephonically. All schools and colleges even European schools have been closed down. At Wardha on August 14 police firing thrice to disperse a crowd in Kharangra village 18 miles from Wardha- one person was killed. Situation in Deoli 10 miles from Wardha was also serious, sub post office and police station being burnt down. Special powers have been given by the Government to the military. The Commerce College at Wardha was taken over by Government. Disturbances were also reported from two railway stations in Hoshangabad District. On August 15 in Nagpur police had to open fire thrice. Cyclostyled copies of the Congress instructions have come to notice. By 18th August it was reported that the situation in Nagpur city was quiet. Schools and colleges opened. No detailed or authentic account available of the situation in the interior of Nagpur. Disturbances at Saner and Umred in the Nagpur District were quickly brought under control. Police firing on a crowd attempted to enter tehsil at Saoner. Figures of casualties in Nagpur from August 12, 15, military fired 47 rounds according to Hindustan Times dated 18.8.42 on 25 occasions, number killed was 30 and wounded 14. The police fired 167 rounds on 13 occasions. Fine of Rs. 3,000 imposed on Ramtek Distt. where tehsil and police station and other government buildings were

burnt down, disturbances at Chimur and Ashti but no details given.

The areas most seriously affected, according to C.I.O. Nagpur daily report dated 20.8.42 at Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Amraoti and Betul Distt. and it is reported that the Congress stoned a mess in the outlying districts. Chhattisgarh is free from violent activities, feeling among the people are still running high and extreme bitterness prevails. Refers to the circulation of three fresh bulletins in Marathi.

The C.P. Government turned down a demand for a general enquiry into firing and C.P. police had to open fire in Warasseoni, Balaghat Districts. The usual Congress instructions cyclostyled and circulated in C.P. including attacks on Government and public buildings, burning down of police station, closing of schools and colleges and mills, cutting of telegraph wires etc.

The trouble according to a C.P. police abstract No.33 dated 22.8.42 spread to the countryside and at Ramtek Rs. 3½ lakhs were removed from the treasury. The police station housed at Moudha, Kuhi and an outpost and timber depot at Khapa and at Saoner was burnt and post office equipment destroyed. The railway stations at Tillod, Saoner, Khapa and Kuhi was also burnt. In Wardha a Magistrate and a police party were assaulted. Police fired 4 rounds, curfew was imposed in Chanda. At Chimur, Udao, Tukaram, Korekar, Suner instigated the non-payment of taxes and disobedience of laws. All Government buildings were burnt down at Chimur and only 16 S.D.O. Naib Tehsildar, Circle Inspector and 1 Constable was murdered. In Betul meetings and processions - two constables were assaulted at Pattan, their uniforms were burnt. In Jubbalpur Congress meeting was dispersed by use of tear gas and cane charges. Post office was looted and police outposts attacked. In Saugor and Damoh processions of school boys, meetings and processions at Hoshangabad. In Akola weaving Department of Sawat Ram Mills refused to weave cloth for the army, telephone and telegraph wires were cut. Procession of 2,000 removed letter boxes, broke electric lamps and was dispersed by lathi-charge, mail box looted at Paras Waelezuon railway station.

A gazette extraordinary issued by the C.P. Government dated 22.8.42 stated that a fine of Rs. 50,000 has been imposed on the inhabitants of the Ashti in Wardha

and villages within a radious of 10 miles from that town and a fine of Rs. 100,000 on the inhabitants of Chemur in Chanda District and villages within a radius of 10 miles from that town as in both the cases these areas are concerned in and are abetting the campaign prejudicially affecting the public safety and the maintenance of law and order and are harbouring people concerned with the campaign of such offences and are suppressing material evidence of the campaign of such offences. The Deoli Municipal Committee in Wardha District, Mowar Municipal Committee in Nagpur District, were superceded. According to the Statesman report 350 arrests were made in Nagpur and 51 at Jubbalpur. At the village Chichili in Narainghpur sub-division a village was raided to arrest some persons. Police was attacked and firing had to be resorted to which has resulted in the death of two persons. Important among those Ashramites of Sewagram and the Nalwadi Tanning Factory went into the interior of Wardha for the movement Saduvhau Gadre, Balaji Moghe, Mohanlal Chaji, Kundu Dewan etc. procession by 13 girls of Mahila Ashram of Wardha and another procession in Nagpur were reported by C.I.O. Nagpur dated 26.8.42.

According to an Intelligence Report for the second week of August, the Congress took advantage of the Tilak Jayanti celebrations to do propaganda in favour of Civil Disobedience movement. The arrest of all leaders of the province on 9th, the declaration of the Congress Committee as unlawful associations and the seizure of their offices was a complete surprise, of the 117 persons on the list of the more prominent Congress organisers prepared in advance only 5 succeeded in going underground. A.I.C.C. members from this province were arrested at Malkapur and Khandwa on their return journey from Bombay. R.S. Shukla told the police party that "The police were taking a more intelligent view of the Congress Movement and that 200 constables in Poona had immediately resigned from service." When the trouble started at Nagpur the roads were barricated at night and government buildings and police outposts were burnt down.

According to a C.I.D. report dated 11.9.42 the movement continued and taking out of processions in Nagpur pasting of posters, Quit India notices, arrests of Mahila Ashram girls in Narelha, processions at Sindi and Hinganghat by the followers of Tikdoji Bawa in

Chhindwara 16 fish-plates and bolts were removed near Seoni in Jubbalpur, individual satyagraha continues, schools and colleges picketed; telegraph wires cut, acid thrown into R.M.S. post box, fish plates and bolts removed of B.M. Rly. line. Satyagraha was started in Katni and six other station offices in Saugor processions of women. Forest satyagraha in Rehli, Banda and Kasli station office took place, sabotage occurred in Hoshangabad Distt. where 173 feet of telegraph wire was cut and removed. Arrests were made in Bilaspur and Raipur, disturbances at Amraoti where the government buildings and police stations were attacked, recruiting office burnt, rails were removed in Akola and a troop train was derailed, telephone wires were cut. In Yeotmal Distt. six village meetings were held and non-payment of rent advocated.

By a gazette extraordinary the C.P. Government has exempted Muslim inhabitants from liability to pay any portion of the collective fines imposed in certain areas of six districts of Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and Amraoti. The exemption will not extend to such individuals of the Muslim community as have in the opinion of the District Magistrates concerned taken part in the disturbances in the areas.

C.I.D. report dated Nagpur 25.9.42 refers to minor sabotage attempt in Nagpur, arrest of 18 persons in Wardha for taking out processions in defiance of orders, lathi-charge on procession at Chanda, arrests at Mul and Shikli, objectionable pamphlets in Jabalpur, hartal in Katni, distribution of Congress pamphlets in I.A.O.C. Training Centre calling upon Indian soldiers to rebel and join the Congress movement, forest satyagraha at Bagraj, complete hartal in Saugor on 6th October, stoning of police, picketing by women, burning of post-office records etc. between 1st and 6th September in Banda forest range, about 770 trees were cut and two boundary pillars were dismantelled, picketing of schools at Bina and Damoh and minor activities were reported from several other districts especially Akola, Amraoti, Bilaspur, Bhandara.

According to a news report in the Statesman the Government of C.P. has decided to take action to prohibit the procession of wireless receiving sets which are being used for undesirable purposes. Deputy Commissioners are being authorised to cancel licences

issued under the Indian Telegraph Act in respect of the wireless receiving sets which they have received, are being used for undesirable purposes.

Forest satyagraha was reported in Kundam police station circle, Jabbalpur Distt. and Majhgawan Circles.

———— ·X· ————

19

Movement in Baluchistan

F.24/Cong./42-A.1 August 15, 1942

There is also a report from Quetta dated September 7, 1942 which reports interest taken by a large number of Kandaharis in the Congress movement. It was also given out mostly by Hindus, according to the report that the aim of the Congress is the re-establishment of ex-king Amanullah on the throne of Afghanistan. It was said that the Hindus in Quetta and Chaman approved of the Congress programme and they are spreading prophecies about its success. Muslims throughout the province do not approve of the Congress programme.

The only sympathy with the Congress movement is that of the urban Hindu class. Abdus Samad Khan the chief leader of the Anjuman-e-Watan after his return from Sindh on August 17 set about organising support for the Congress movement. The public of Baluchistan was summoned to give their full support to Congress in their war of independence. In order to forestall a public meeting proposed to be held by the Anjuman, the chief ring leaders were arrested. There have been some unexplained fires in Quetta in which two huts were destroyed and some compartments damaged. Members of the Congress Committee in Gulistan, Spina, Tizha and Loralai are feeling some anxiety on account of the repressive action taken against members of the party in Quetta. Hindu students have been telling in British Baluchistan that they will be taking part in the struggle after their schools and colleges open. The Muslim public, however, feels satisfied and approved of the measures taken by the Government. A few copies of the leaflets in English printed in red ink and headed "To the motor trade in India" and ending with the words 'Victory or death' 'Inquilab Zindabad'

have been seen in Quetta Bazar. These leaflets exhorted the leaders of the motor dealers to suspend work and refrain from giving any aid to the war effort.

Letter of Abdus Samad Khan smuggled by him out of jail containing a programme on well established Congress lines for general sabotage and Civil Disobedience, according to an Intelligence report dated 11.9.42, failed to create any interest.

———— ·X· ————

20

Murder of Police Officers in Chimur and Ashti: Mass Arrests in C.P. and Berar.

F.28/Cong/42-B.5 August 16, 1942

The C.I.D. report for the first half of August 1942, C.P. & Berar refers to the list of 117 prominent Congress organisers prepared in advance for arrest, only 5 of them could manage to go underground while the rest were arrested. Pt. R.S. Shukla, the ex-Prime Minister told the police party which was waiting for him at the railway station that "The police were taking a more intelligent view of the Congress movement and that 2 constables in Poona had immediately resigned from service". 28 of the more important persons were sent to Madras Jails in exchange for a corresponding number of prisoners from the Madras Presidency.

A brief summary of the events in the province after the arrest of the Congress leaders states that the first shot was fired at Wardha on the 10th night in order to disperse a disorderly Congress meeting, a similar meeting was dispersed at Jabbalpur with tear smoke. The situation, however, deteriorated and mob violence had to be suppressed in places like Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara and Amraoti. In Nagpur city after the cutting of electric and telegraph wires, attacking the police out posts and setting fire to government property, court buildings etc. were attacked and the crowd had to be dispersed by firing on several occasions; looting occurred on 13th and railway communication was sabotaged. Similar events occurred at Ramtek. Police Stations were set fire to in Nagpur and Wardha District. At Chimur police officers were

murdered. At Ashti in Wardha District a Sub-Inspector of Police and 4 constables were murdered, 10 forest depots were set on fire, constables were attacked, some were humiliated by taking away their uniforms which were burnt; they were compelled to wear Gandhi caps and carry Congress flags in procession. In villages, branch post offices were looted and village officers, papers and records were destroyed, firing was resorted to in Betul. The eastern, western and northern districts of the Province were immune from any general disorder although isolated incidents occurred. Mill-hands in Akola especially of the Savatram, Ram Prasad mills damaged telegraph and telephone wires and attempted to set fire to the city post offices - they were dispersed after a lathi-charge. Incidents of wire-cutting were reported in Nagpur and Amraoti towns. The total number of arrests and detentions since the commencement of the movement is about 4,000. District Councils of Raipur, Bilaspur, Betul, Chhindwara and Durg with their local parties, Merwara local party, Deoli Municipal Committee and Mowar Municipality were superseded. A collective fine of Rs.3,00,000 have been imposed on a number of areas in Nagpur - Wardha, Chanda, Amraoti, Bhandara, Balaghat and Hoshangabad Districts. The total casualties among the rioters during the month is 98 killed and 168 wounded. Commissioner's report indicate that the worst phase of the mob violence is over. The moral of government officials in spite of the shocks sustained after the murders at Chimur and Ashti is reported to be excellent. Efforts are being made by local officers to make contacts with responsible non-Congress elements in the important centres of agitation and prevail upon them to organise against all forms of activity involving violence or defiance of authority.

———— ·X· ————

21

Military Firing in Nagpur as the Movement Spreads

F.24/Cong/42-C-I August 16, 1942

The arrest of Gandhi came as a severe shock to the Congress and the people in general. Hartals everywhere successful except in the case of Muslim shops were

observed after the arrest of Gandhi and protest meetings were held which in Nagpur were represented by all parties. Anti-Government demonstrations which followed were largely students controlled and schools and colleges and mills went on strike. Police firing on students led to a situation in the city in which attacks were made against the police, a number of police outposts in the city were burnt down together with the city post offices, Railway Station at Itwara etc. Telegraph and telephone wires were cut and the final stage was the looting of food shops and ware-houses. Military was called on the 12th of August and there have been numerous cases of firing by the police and the military resulting about 200 deaths in the city. Police casualties were very few. Emissaries were said to have been sent to the interior and at Ramtek, police sub-station house, tahsil building and sub treasury and the railway station were all burnt down, railway track turned up and a train burnt down. There have been many reports of attack on the people in the interior. Information about the rest of the provinces is scanty. Apart from usual hartal and demonstrations, occasional sporadic attacks on the police with occasional firing, Berar appears to be comparatively calm, Chhattisgarh has been free from violence and Jabalpur City has experienced only isolated acts of hooliganism. Muslims everywhere with the exception of a few hooligans participating in looting have kept aloof.

The report also refers to the preparations being made prior to the arrest of Gandhi as the holdings of the meetings and preparing the people for the struggle ahead "these meetings on the whole seem to have been well attended and the course of the movement since it began suggests that the ground was well prepared for the movement as clearly followed a definite plan of attacks on police stations and other Government institutions and of attempts to dislocate communications by cutting telegraph and telephone wires, sacking post offices, blocking roads and by damaging railway lines and burning trains. There have been no organised attacks of persons and few police officers have been assaulted except in the course of riots although subjected to indignation. In Chhattisgarh, the Movement seems to be progressing on non-violent lines. It is significant, however, to note that no Congressman has as yet raised his voice

in condemnation of the violence committed. Most of the pamphlets issued carrying instructions for strikes etc. seem to emanate mostly from student bodies and it is difficult to say how far the Congress is responsible for them. It, however, appears from the statement of one who attended the AICC session that following Gandhi's arrest, printed instructions unsigned roughly to the same effect were circulated amongst all Congress workers then present at Bombay. Attempts were made to persuade Dr. Khare to throw in his lot with the Congress but he refused expressing doubts of the sincerity of the Congress leaders. At earlier stages it was the students who led the Movement but as soon as the mob violence started they receded into the background. The Communists are in a dilemma if they remain neutral or participate in it, they fear they would either become isolated from the public or lose their identity. Anti-fascists federation is losing its hold while the Congress National students are filling in the gap. Hindu Sabha has allowed its members to join the Congress Movement. Muslim League, however, has carried on a certain amount of anti-Congress and anti-Civil Disobedience propaganda.

There are certain newspaper reports regarding the meeting of the P.C.C. office, Nagpur, arrest of Congress volunteers and ex-Ministers of C.P. A press note dated Nagpur dated 12, refers to the firing of 95 rounds by the police causing 12 casualties. Curfew was imposed from 7-30 P.M. to 5-30 A.M. Firing in Wardha cost one life.

Another C.I.D. report from Nagpur dated 13-8-42 describes the situation in Nagpur city as "serious but is not considered to be out of control". Police was the main target of the hooligans and many of their out-posts were burnt and firing by police resulted in 12 casualties. There have been no serious casualties among police officers but the private property of several has been destroyed and it appears that the police in the outlying city out-posts are growing increasingly nervous. The residence-cum-office of the local Intelligence Officer was set on fire and his family molested. Few shops were looted, city post-offices looted, buildings set on fire, military buses burnt etc. Government servants were prevented from attending offices. The persons responsible for activities in the city are Maganlal and Shyam Narain.

Troops were called in and curfew has been imposed.

The next report dated 14-8-42 refers to the situation in Nagpur City becoming rather quieter but the trouble was said to be spreading to the countryside. The report refers to the burning down of public buildings, police stations, railway stations etc. at Ramtek. Troops and police reached spot and the situation seems to be quieter. Police station houses in the interior of Nagpur and Wardha Districts were attacked but the details are lacking. It is now confirmed that persons were despatched from Nagpur to work up the agitation in the countryside. In Raipur, a stronghold of the Congress agitation is being conducted on non-violent lines. Kishanlal Gaumashta has been appointed dictator of the Raipur Congress. Congress prisoners in Raipur jails were also reported to be worrying the authorities. Ex-minister was removed from Buldana Jail to Nagpur Jail.

Similar demonstrations, closing of colleges, schools, etc. and lathi charge by police were reported from Amraoti. According to the press report dated Nagpur, August 13, disturbed area was cordoned of by police and military and ingress and egress was strictly controlled. Situation was described as serious in Deoli 10 miles from Wardha. The post office at Deoli and the police station together with their records were burnt down. The situation in Kharangana Village where there was police firing, is under control. The Government found it necessary to issue orders that "the military commander at Nagpur has full power under Section 131 Cr.P.C. to disperse unlawful assemblies when public safety is in danger by such assemblies and when no message can be communicated with. Government has also informed the military commander that he has authority to disperse crowds by fire in Nagpur City wherever rioters assembled refused to disperse when ordered to do so and when troops are attacked or pelted with stones and brick-bats. There were also reports of disturbances in Hoshangabad District and the police opened fire. One person was killed. The Government also felt compelled to take possession of the only Commerce College in the C.P., namely, Govind Ram Seksaria Commerce College and its Hostels. 80 arrests were effected at Amraoti where curfew was imposed and leaders like Bhalwanrao Deshpande of the Kisan Sabha and Barwe, Akarty and Belsaro were arrested.

The C.I.D. report for 17-8-42 reports a secret meeting of Congress workers Panke and Lanjiwar inclusive who decided to concentrate on persuading Indian Government servants to resign and to ask people not to indulge in looting of private property. It also refers to the distribution of cyclostyled Marhati bulletins under the heading Azad Bulletin and signed Krani Kumar or Kranti Kiran advising people how to save themselves from gunfire and exhorting them to take part in the struggle. There were also anti-government activities, processions, etc. at Bilaspur where tenants attending the Tahsil were exhorted not to pay the revenue. Hartal in Rajnandgaon was also reported. The people of Bhanupratappur Tahsil who have some grievances against the forest administration are reported to take the lead in Satyagraha if it is started in the State.

C.I.D. report for 18-8-42 reports the opening of schools and colleges and mills in Nagpur. However, the distribution of objectionable posters and leaflets headed Azad and Congress bulletin inciting disloyalty among the troops and asking people not to throw stones at the police but to continue the struggle which is described as equal to the Mutiny of 1857 continued. In all about 200 persons have been arrested so far in Nagpur. No authentic account is as yet available of the situation in the interior of Nagpur District or in other parts of the province. A serious incidence in which a Sub-Divisional Magistrate and one or more police officers have been killed is reported to have occurred in Chimur in Chanda District.

The disturbances at Saoner and Umred in the Nagpur District were brought under control and the firing had to be resorted to at the former station. Mobile military parties have now been organised to reach quickly on the scene. From August 12 to August 15 there were firing of 47 rounds on 25 occasions by the military and the number killed was 30 and wounded 14. The police fired 166 rounds on 13 occasions. It is not possible to have a collected picture of the casualties due to police firing. A press report refers to the imposition of Rs. 30,000 at Ramtek area in Nagpur District as collective fine. The Government is also considering the imposition of fine on the town of Umred and Chimur. A force of military and police was trying to reach Umred where trouble was feared but the

road had been blocked by felled trees and communication had been interrupted by a destroyed culvert. The District Council of Chhindwara and the local boards of Chhindwara, Amarwara and Sausar were superseded. The press report of August 15 refers to the arrest of several Congressmen at Jabalpur, hartal, meeting and firing by police resulting in one casualty.

Next C.I.D. report dated 19-8-42 refers to the strong resentment in the city over an incident said to have occurred in village Parsodi near Nagpur City. It is alleged that following the looting of a military lorry, the village was raided by police accompanied by a unit of Mahar Regiment and that while all the men folk were in custody, a Mahar Sepoy entered the house of a respectable Kalar, shopkeeper and raped his young daughter aged 14 years. The matter was brought to the notice of Military Officer-in-Charge by the S.I. Police but no action was taken. The report also refers to the circulation of cyclostyled Hindi bulletins under the title Bagwat and signed Gaddar Party inciting disloyalty. It also refers to other bulletins one in Hindi 'Swatantra Bharat Bulletin No. 15' calling upon troops and police to desert and another one in English bearing a photo of Subash Bose.

The next report dated 20-8-42 finds the situation in Nagpur City absolutely quiet while the details of the Ashti S.H. (Wardha District) outrage indicate that one sub-inspector, one head constable and 3 constables were murdered, 2 of the constables burnt alive and the Station House building and records destroyed by fire. The area most seriously affected, according to the report has remained Nagpur and the neighbouring districts of Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Amraoti and a part of Betul District and for one reason that Congress emissaries who left Nagpur told the people in the outlying towns that the Congress has already captured power in the capital, it is considered the trouble would not spread to the interior to the extent it did if the original outbreak in Nagpur City has been most quickly suppressed. Chhatisgarh is still free from violent activities. The police have been the main target of violence used and have had some dreadful experience but the morale is high and there is no desertion. Feeling among the people are still running high and extreme bitterness prevails against the Government and in particular against the police and military. There are no signs of repentence or regret

over the barbarities perpetrated against the police and it seems that the people harbour designs of further retaliation when the moment is opportune. In a bulletin issued students are urged to form small parties to attack military units and to capture their weapons. Domestic servants of all European officers and Indian Officers are enjoined to leave service and to murder their masters by poison.

A press report refers to disturbances in Venoda 50 miles from Amraoti where four persons were killed and many injured when police opened fire. The C.P. Government in a press communique refused to institute an enquiry into the police and military firing in C.P. as it would effect the morale of the forces employed and help to fan anarchy. Firing was also resorted to according to the C.I.D. report dated 21-8-42 in Waraseoni, Balaghat District.

C.I.D. report dated 22-8-42 refers to 200 yds. of railway track of the main Nagpur Attarsi line being turned up and in a village Bhandara a small police party engaged in enquiry being assaulted injuring one constable rather seriously. A press release issued reported imposition of heavy fines on two towns and the villages surrounding them. Ashti Wardha District and Chimur, Chanda District were fined Rs.50,000 and 100,000 respectively. Deoli and Mowar Municipal Committees were superseded. Special Criminal Code Ordinance was applied to the whole province and special magistrate and summary courts are being set up in Nagpur under the provisions of the ordinance. According to a report in the Statesman, Hindustan Red Army was said to be behind the disturbances in Nagpur. Troubles were reported in Betul District, Sagor District and Chichili in Narsingh Pur where at all these three Places police had to open fire resulting in casualties.

According to the C.I.D. report dated 26.8.42 "it is generally believed in Wardha Congress circles that Gandhi left no detailed programme for the Movement but that his last message immediately before his arrest was that everybody should consider himself leader and conduct the Movement according to his own wish, that a complete deadlock should be created and Government machinery boycotted strictly according to the creed of non-violence. It is presumed that on the basis of this message, the unarrested Congress leaders of different provinces who were present in Bombay prepared a

programme and gave publicity to it by various means. Except for these usual demonstrations and distribution of pamphlets, the situation was quieter in Nagpur.

———— ·X· ————

22

Movement in Delhi Resembles "1815 Revolution in Europe"

F.24/Cong./42-D.I

E.J. Beveridge
C.I.D.

August 17, 1942

There is a secret report from R.G. Mellore, Office of the Superintendent of Police, C.I.D. to Mr.E.J. Beveridge, Asstt. Director, Intelligence Home Department, dated August 17, 1942 referring to the events which followed the arrest of the Congress leaders at Bombay, hartal at Delhi, mass meetings on the 9th where a Hindu lady, a Muslim Congressman and a Muslim Communist worker spoke blaming the government for having precipitated the crisis. This was followed by Congress flag salutations ceremony next day, processions and meetings in defiance of Government orders, hooliganism by crowds sometimes number several thousands, schools and colleges and shops remained closed for the last three days and there were attempts to loot or destroy anything public, incidents are too many to be described. Then it refers to Town Hall, Railway Cabins, Terminal Tax Posts, Railway Clearing Accounts Office being set on fire, telephone and electric wires damaged, Europeans molested, etc. on account of which the police and military had to open fire and significantly it adds "as a result of these disturbances in Delhi and elsewhere the following effects can be easily noticed (i) firing by the police and the British soldiers and dispersal of processions and meetings by force have further alienated the public sympathy. Discontent and dissatisfaction have further increased. It is more visible in government servants. Hostility towards the British grows; (ii) Tendency to leave Delhi grows, 20,000 to 30,000 persons mostly labourers have fled; (3) 90% shops remained closed, business practically at a stand-still; (4) Local schools and

colleges closed; (5) Electric trams are not running. There is only a partial bus service; (6) Due to the absence of labour the mills and factories engaged in war efforts are so far either idle or working only with partial complements. The Central Ordnance Depot Work-shop remained closed; (7) Prices of the food commodi-ties have increased; (8) Delhi civil authorities have practically failed in dealing with the situation which is quiet at the moment,but far from normal. The disturbances have affected the normal school life which remains potentially serious and fraught with grave consequences".

On the basis of information received from other sources, it was inferred that the movement will not stop in Delhi but will continue to be directed and controlled by the Congress workers. Satya Vati and Premjas Rai were said to be directing the movement from behind the scenes. Only property and utility service have either been set on fire damaging or destroying no private property has been touched. Strenuous efforts are being made to make the Muslims understand that it is the only government which is the root cause of Hindu-Muslim clashes. There are no fears of Hindu-Muslim riots in Delhi. No attempt has been made to hurt or assault any Indian police officer or other Indian officers. The murder of the Sub-Inspector of Police is stated to be due to his having attempted to fire on the mob. His revolver was taken away. The labour is being persuaded to leave Delhi. Congressmen are busy to get those shops which opened to be closed. They are also trying to let the movement spread in rural areas.

As regards the form the movement may take it was stated in the report that the village officers are being won over to the side of the Congress by telling them that there is complete chaos and anarchy in cities and towns. Efforts are also being made to persuade people not to send any supplies to the cities. There is hartal at Shahdara, Narela, Mehrauli and Yusuf Sarai. There are no organised efforts to dissuade government servants from attending offices. It will be expected of those who do not resign either to stay idle in office or to work not properly so that the work suffers. Dhobis, Khansamas and bearers are being approached to leave their jobs. Nationalist workers are of the opinion that although the police as a result is so far loyal to the government there are still many waiverers

among them and they are confident that if a sympathetic approach is made they will succumb. Some local workers are satisfied that the police have not troubled them much this time. They praise the attitude of the lower ranks and they express their sympathy for their low scales of pay. By giving currency to alarming and damaging rumours they create conditions of chaos and anarchy.

The above analysis by one Manohar Lal points out that the movement is assuming shape of the 1815 Revolution in Europe directed with the definite object of paralysing government machinery in this country and keep ready in dealing with the internal troubles. There will be silent and non-violent non-cooperation movement. Its counterpart of violence will be completed by students devoid with faith and terrorism. The Communist workers are already supplying their quota in the struggle. There are unmistakable signs of national awakening in the educated people and those responsible for directing the movement seem to be having good response from the public. This time there is no open severe condemnation of acts of violence. Even press criticism of violent acts is not so severe as it was before. On the other hand there is public encouragement of such acts. The movement must therefore be viewed with vast potentialities inherent in it this time. It is likely to prove capable of doing greater mischief than ever before. The Muslim attitude towards the movement is generally sympathetic though the Muslim league will oppose the movement. Whether the movement has any support from the enemy source and whether it has tractors will prove equal to the task is not clear at the moment. This may make the situation more clear, but undoubtedly the situation merits closer and serious attention of the authorities.

23

Birla encourages Mill Labourers to Strike: Rural Participation in Delhi Agitation

F.24/Cong./42-D.1 August 17, 1942

Another secret report dated 17.8.42 refers to the improvement in Delhi situation, opening of all Muslim

shops and a few Hindu shops, stoppage of picketing at educational institutions, attendance of workers in C.O.D. workshop, resumption of trams service though the mills remained closed. Congress is said to be making preparations to keep the movement and by taking out processions from unusual places and at unannounced times. Shahdara, Saharanpur light railways suspended running of train at night on 15.8.42. Passengers got into it and refused to pay the tickets. The report also adds when Commerce College authorities were approached to open the College, it is reliably reported that Shankar Lal of the Delhi Cloth Mills exercised his influence on the college authorities not to open the College for the present. Birla (name not mentioned) is understood to have conveyed to the labour employed by the Birla Mills through his trusted agents that the labourers should absent themselves for two months or more and that they will be given their full wages for this period plus bonus equivalent to 2½ months wages if freedom was won and such other persons who will stay in Delhi will be supplied free rations till the strike was called off.

The C.I.D. report for Delhi dated 21.8.42 refers to the peaceful atmosphere on the 19th and 20th of August which passed without serious incidents. The processions which were taken out were dispersed peacefully. More shops were opened and the movement in Delhi was said to be managed in the form of pamphlet tearing and rumour mongering. Cyclystyled leaflets were distributed among the students and labourers to picket government offices, the people to withdraw savings from banks and post offices and government servants to turn disloyal. Jugal Kishore Khanna and Satya Vati were said to be directing the movements. The villagers at Bankner (Narela), were urged not to obey patwaris, thanadars and others are refuse to pay land revenues. A pamphlet is also attached which urges the employees of the Imperial Secretariat to be ready to make sacrifices "Remember that every official act of yours is an affront to the dignity of your motherland. Every day you spend in the service of the tyrannical and the traitor to help him adds to the strength of their oppression and if you plead the cause of your small individual security, you will be traitors to generations of urban Indians."

Another report informs about the derailment of Delhi-

Kalka main and the arrest of a railway gang man who had a wrench used for tightening or loosening the bolts on rails. Another C.I.D. report dated 25.8.42 says that "The news of the train derailment at Mannawala, Amritsar District and beyond Narela, Delhi Province on the Delhi-Kalka root is gradually becoming public and has roused fears about travelling in these disturbed days. The fact that the two incidents were denied publicity in the press has been taken to mean that the news of other more serious outrages is being suppressed by the Government. 40 persons were arrested at Narela.

———— ⁘ ————

24
Movement Starts in Baroda

F.10/IS/42-II August 17, 1942

Baroda City, August 17 : Excitement throughout day while Praja Mandal producing their programme affection. Later, the enclosed pamphlet appeared. My information is that before realising this the Praja Mandal had sent an ultimatum to the Dewan requiring that the State should provide no facilities to the army or in war effort and including various demands in respect of the internal administration of the State. At this juncture the State authorities were forced to take a decision. Alternatives were continued. Placation of Praja Mandal involving dangerous complication of non-cooperation with Government or belated adoption of repressive measures. At 9 P.M. Dewan informed me that he expected the resolution to surrender all war work to be passed next morning. It had, in fact, been already passed and the manifesto circulated, a copy being in my possession. Repeated reports were received of plans to attack railway property. Police and military were placed to guard. August 18, Alembic Chemical Works which had continued to operate their profitable section while closing others as a gesture closed. Praja Mandal declared it illegal. Arrest of leaders effected. Eight arrested, 4 others being sought. Hostile crowds which stoned police and officials could not be dispersed by police who have proved very ineffective and were fired on by State force. 19 rounds reported fired. Results

some two mill hands killed, and some 22 to 25 from mild injuries to blows. Reports received of damage to B.B.C.I. Railway at Adas just outside State limits by Baroda college and school boys. Two or three reported shot by provincial police. Signal wire reported cut near Itolah Station. August 19, troops stood by bodies of persons. Killed taken out in procession. News received a body of students killed at Adas being brought by road. Police diverted it. 11 P.M. report of damage to railway at petlad. No details. In view of the possibility of newspapers of 20th containing inflammatory material order issued by me to Station Master to hold all papers. They were examined and released as unobjectionable. At 10.15 hours trains at Miyagam station on B.B.C.I. railway stoned by Baroda villagers organised by students.

August 20 : Railway telegraph lines cut by college students and villagers near Pilol 9 miles south of Baroda. At 22.00 hours wires again cut, eastern Itolah and Miyagam. Crowds dispersed before military reached the spot. Officer commanding complains of failure (in spite of orders) of Station Master to report interruption immediately. His behaviour reported to railway authorities and he being watched. At 5 P.M. crowd collected in Jubilee Garden (Baroda) - the scene of previous firing - city police failed to disperse the crowd and it got out of hands. Central Government post office attacked and attempts made to burn it. The building damaged and the Sayaji Vijay Press near about burnt. Crowd dispersed by State troops who fired over the heads of the mob.

August 21: House search in progress. Arrests affected of some persons involved in the riot of 20th. Arrests in districts completed.

August 22: Mixed procession by Manhattas and Gujaratis taken out as a protest against a manifesto issued by leading Marhattas that they have no sympathy with the movement, some Marhattas disapproved of the manifesto. Procession dispersed by police.

Navasari (Baroda State) after a fracas at Matwad (Bombay Province) in which police fired. Two persons died. All mill-owners in Baroda and northern areas of the State follow the lead of the Ahmedabad and have closed down. Those in the south of the State have taken their line from Bombay and kept at work. C.Horanda

Station: B.B.C.I. Line interfered with near Miyagam. Lines removed. A number of persons affected. Action being taken under the Collective Fines Ordinance. Mehsana (Baroda) August 19: Huge procession taken out in spite of Government order. They refused to disperse. After discussion District Magistrate, Vithalbhai Ranchodbhai and Vijay Kumar both allowed to address the crowd. They tried to frustrate the war effort. Tailors were thanked for refusing to continue making uniforms (a war contract and the proprietor of Kamani Works). Mehsana praised for closing the work which were engaged on war production.

August 18: Times of India have published that four Baroda students have been killed and 10 wounded.

The Managing Committee of the Baroda State Praja Mandal in its resolution appealed to the British Government to stop all the oppressive measures against those demanding independence and the Committee resolved that if the situation does not cease down and if the oppressive policy of the Government still persists it exhorted the people of the State to paralyse all the war effort of this State till such time as an amicable settlement had been arrived at between the leaders of India and the Government. It stressed that the fate of Indian States is co-related with that of India.

C.K.Dali, Resident for
Baroda and Gujarat States.

———— ·X· ————

25

Calcutta Reacts to Arrest of Congress Leaders

F.28/Cong/42-A-I August 17, 1942

The majority of Hindu shops in Burrabazar and Bhowanipore were closed on account of the death of Mahadev Desai, the share market and the Jute Balers' Association in Burrabazar also remained closed. Tramway service was generally suspended excepting on the Wellesley and Kidderpore routes. In the morning the buses plied for some time but the Sikh bus drivers

of Bhawanipore later refused to take out their buses.

XX XX XX XX

On 15.8.42 some Hindus urged the Muslim shopkeepers of Rajabazar to close their shops, but they refused to do so.

XX XX XX XX

Four copies of printed English leaflets entitled "India declares independence" containing AICC's instructions, Gandhi's last message and programme of work were found on 15.8.42.

XX XX XX XX

The Congress Bulletin which purports to have been issued under orders of the B.P.C.C. by Intelligence Officer - Shyamadas Banarji, Hooghly, and is cyclostyled, states that Bengal has received its first baptism of fire since the struggle has begun. Baidya Nath Sen son of Kaviraj Rajendra Nath Sen who was brought to the Medical College Hospital in a precarious state, died on 14.8.42 and Haripada Chakrabarti, a student of the Bangabashi College has been seriously wounded. They have opened the new roll of honour begun by the struggle.

XX XX XX

Cyclostyled "Congress Bulletin" No. 2 dated 15.8.42 It refers to "Lathi-charges and firings yesterday" which took place in Calcutta.

(Extract from the Special Branch Calcutta Report No. C.M.579/42 dated 20.8.1942)

At a secret meeting (20) of Bepin Ganguli's party attanded by Ad Hoc Congress workers of Barrackpur, Budge Budge, 24-Paragannas, Howrah and Serampore-Hughly held on 16.8.42 at 46/33 Surendra Banarji Road with Bepin Ganguli (E.D.) in the chair, one Mahadeb (unidentified) who went to Bombay briefly narrated the A.I.C.C. proceedings including Gandhi's programme. It was suggested, with reference to the violent and unruly reactions to Gandhi's arrest, that they should first of all be controlled and organised before working out the Congress programme.

XX XX XX

———— ⁂ ————

26

Arrest of R.S.Shukla and D.P. Misra

F.24/Cong/6 August 17, 1942

There is another abstract from the report dated August 17, from the D.S.P., Buldana who escorted the A.I.C.C. members arrested in Malkapur. The DSP relates some of the conversation which he had with one of the prisoners D.P. Misra who along with Ravi Shankar Shukla and 18 others were under his charge. On their way from Malkapur he had some conversation with D.P. Misra on the Shegaon Railway Station on the morning of 14-8-42. "As Misra was chatty and communicative I led him to the subject of what the Congress hoped to achieve now all the responsible leaders were in jail. He was rather gleefully mysterious alleging that I would be surprised if I know what was in store (he had not seen a newspaper since 10th so did not know about the upcountry disturbances). He suggested that the Hindu Mahasabha was staging an insurrection not after the war as was already suggested by street corner propaganda but "when the moment arrived". Dark hints at a second Indian Mutiny by the Hindu Mahasabha recruits were thrown out. He insisted on the fact that the whole Congress idea was to arouse a fighting spirit among Indians as they had to get out the idea that to change from the British domination to domination was a mere change of masters. He also regretted that expenses by goondas were spoiling the non-violent character of the campaign, pointed out that excesses were to be expected from any mass movement and could be quickly controlled by Congress. The whole conversation may have taken 10 or 15 minutes. It left me with the impression that Congress had a planned programme for upcountry mischief but that the AICC members had been arrested too early to know what had happened but were hoping for the best.

27
Development in Jodhpur State

F./6-IS-42-A August 18, 1942

The Hindustan Times dated August 18, 1942, reported the arrest of Mr.Dwarkhadass Parohat and Mr.Hukamchand Surana on August 16.

In the Jodhpur agitation for the civil liberties 11 persons were arrested including Jainarain Vyas. Nine of the accused were sentenced various terms of imprisonment; Jainarain Vyas received three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.300. The local agitation which was, according to the report, gradually dying down when the disturbances in British India as a result of the arrest of the Congress leaders, led to fresh outbreaks in Jodhpur. Lok Parshad has been actively engaged in issuing letters to Europeans inviting them to leave India, to various high Indian officers requesting their support Quit India notices have been posted, objectionable speeches have been made, processions have been taken out, one railway carriage damaged, telegraph wires cut, post office letter box tempered with. Disorderly activity have been countered by efficient police action which has, on several occasions, had to take the form of cane charges On the night of August 17, troops were called out though they were not required to take any action. Women police have been enlisted to deal with women satyagrahis. In all 45 arrests have been made upto August 31 in connection with the All-India agitation. All important centres and buildings where Sabotage could be expected are strongly guarded. All European quarters guarded. On August 18, various incidents of hooliganism occurred in Jodhpur city, students taking a prominent part. Five women accompanied by some school boys took out pheri shouting anti-British slogans. They decided to disperse and a crowd collected. The women laid down on the road to obstruct the mounted police. Women were arrested by the women police. Several other incidents occurred during the day. Hooliganism being joined by college students who absented themselves from classes. A potash ball was thrown on a police lorry causing it to catch fire. Fire was extinguished. Eventually the military was called out as the police had been on duty for long

periods. Several cane charges had to be made by the police and 13 policemen were injured. Altogether 23 persons were arrested. One of the arrested students disclosed that their plan was to damage telegraph lines and to follow the example of what had done in British India. A batch of students included Hardatt who had come from Banaras where there had been great trouble. On August 21, attempts were made to take out processions and hold meeting and police were assaulted. The police had to disperse the crowd with cane charges. Bal Kishan, the dictator of Lok Prashad, was arrested. Some further arrests were made at Phalodi in their centre of the agitators. Pheris were taken out and meetings were held to support the anti-British Government agitation. Three persons were arrested.

There is an extract from the Special Branch, Calcutta, dated 17.9.1942, which quotes an intercepted letter dated 9.9.1942 from Kamal care of Jai Krishna Maheswari, Murli Dhar, Kumarion, kuwa Jodhpur to Bharat Bhushan Aggarwal, 152B Harrison Road, passing some unauthorised news. Among other things it says that Manak Lal and Tana Bux, Philodi, volunteers of Marwar Lok Parshad were arrested on 8.8.1942 for distributing some pamphlets with "Instructions from Gandhiji". A procession of 5,000 came out and later Bani Dhar, Akshoy Kumar and Pandit Vishnu Datt addressed them cursing the Government. After the arrest of Mitha Lal Trivedi the 14th dictator of Sat Parshad and one Gauri Sankar, Mrs. Krishna Devi wife of Achleshwar Pershad Sharma was appointed the 15th dictator. The writer requests the addressee to forward the news to Viswa Mitra, Janam Bhoomi, Samaj Sewak, another paper.

There is a copy of a poster in Hindi entitled "Jodhpur Jail Men Bhayankar Kand" dreadful chapter in the history of Jodhpur jail. The translation reads:

On the night of 21.11.1942, a very dreadful happening took place in the Jodhpur jail. At 11 P.M. and 3 A.M. political prisoners were beaten with lathis as a result of which 16 political prisoners were wounded. The rib of Shri Sumnesh was broken. The arm bones of Shri Chhagan Nath of Choperi were dislocated while Mitta Lal Khander received severe injuries on his chest and remained unconscious for 4 hours. Jainarain Vyas, Secretary, Lok Parshad Akhal Bhartiya Deshi Rajya Lok Parshad and a famous leader of Marwar received severe injuries on his rib and a foot-bone of his son broken

and the foot-bone of Jaswant Rai also hurt severely. Similarly, other political prisoners also received serious injuries. 24 persons, including Mathra Dass Mathur, ex-President, were kept standing with handcuffs and fatters in dark cells. Condition of Jainarain Vyas is precarious and it is known that in this very condition he has been removed to some unknown place. Most of them have not been allowed to interview with their relatives, friends and counsellors. Local citizens try to know the cause but the authorities refuse to give out anything. It is also learnt from a reliable source that all this happened with the concurrence of Shri Trivedi, the Inspector General of Police.

A few days before this the Jodhpur Government, through its political Department, had ordered almost all the newspapers not to publish any news in connection with the Jodhpur Satygrah and since then it was estimated that the Jodhpur Government was going to stage some dreadful drama. This is one of the achievements of Sir Donald Field, the British Prime Minister of Jodhpur. Note: Meetings should be held at all places to protest against this Government and the resolutions adopted there should be sent to the Jodhpur Government.

———— ⁂ ————

28

K.N. Gairola's Statement regarding Underground Activities in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-(D)-V.D August 19, 1942

Demonstrative Department:

The work of this department was to take out processions and hold meetings. For everyday one leader was elected. He was sole in charge of his department so far as the demonstrations and meetings were concerned. He had only to take orders from the Dictator. On the first day, one Sikh student, so far as I remember was elected, as the leader of this department. Under his command we sent a batch of 100 students to take the procession to picket the Judicial Courts. It was supported on either side of the procession by

two ambulance tongas carrying First Aid materials and about half a dozen students to render first aid in case of emergency. About a dozen cyclists were going along the procession to give necessary information to the leader as well as to our office in the University. The office was regularly getting 15 minutes to half hourly information about the progress and the developments of the procession. As the procession marched on the citizens were informed to join the small jathas at different Mohalla and streets. It was a grand success. The mob grew to a rough estimate of one and a half lakhs as it reached the Baruna Bridge near the courts. The leader and the students were instructed strictly to remain absolutely non-violent and disciplined. The office was informed that the mounted police raided the procession at Harish Chander Ghat Choraha when one of the students seemed to have snatched away the revolver of a Sergeant who was mounted. He (Sergeant) seemed to have aimed many shots at the procession and when few of our students were injured and one about 15 years old Madrasi boy, who was simply watching the procession, was shot dead.

XXX XXX XXX

Propaganda Department:

This department consisted of students whose work was to issue news bulletins. The work was so distributed that one worker could not know the other workers and the head of the department had an independent unit. I do not know the name of the incharge of this department as Professor RADHEY SHAM was in touch alone.

XXX XXX XXX

Finance Department:

Lady students were specially given this work to collect funds from house to house first in the University and then in the City and side by side to propagate the message of MAHATMA GANDHI to the women folk. The object was to do propaganda properly and win admirers, sympathisers and active workers. They had to submit reports on all these phases so that the office should know the amount of progress made by each lady worker in each direction.

XXX XXX XXX

Intelligence Department:

This department was to carry on the work of informing the office about the strategy, the survey of the targets, etc. etc. They were to keep watch on the activities of the Government and spy on the suspected people in the University and supply information about the movement of Police.....

XXX XXX XXX

Volunteers Department:

This department was sub-divided into two parts i.e. boys and girls. There were about 300 volunteers for this purpose and every day the command was changed.

XXX XXX XXX

Village Department:

A map of the surrounding villages of Benares was brought in the Congress Office and certain village guides were provided to different small batches of students who were sent to rural area to propagate the message of MAHATMA GANDHI. The students batches were provided with the necessary finance, propaganda material and written routes when they were to proceed for their destinations.

XXX XXX XXX

School and Colleges Department:

The students of the different schools and colleges were requested to form their respective groups in their hostels of schools and colleges and remain in constant touch with the Central organisation.

XXX XXX XXX

Ladies Department:

The girl students of the University during their collection of funds had to organise the small groups of the ladies who would look after the arrangements of shelter, food, clothing etc. etc. They had to form links with the girls of the different schools or colleges and organise them on the Central Organisation.

XXX XXX XXX

Information Department:

The work of this department was to collect all reliable information about the Congress work in the city, villages and provinces (both inside and outside). They had to meet the different travellers, merchants or messengers from the different places and provinces to gather information and at the same time to supply the correct informations about the movement.

XXX XXX XXX

Messengers Department:

The students working as messengers were accompanying the processions in the town to bring news of any development to the main office. They were to go in the villages with the batches to bring news of any importance or progress and to carry further instructions to the batches working in the villages.

XXX XXX XXX

Ambulance Department:

The work of this department was to give first aid to the sick or injured persons. It was formed mostly from the students of the Ayurvedic College.

XXX XXX XXX

Continuing the work done by the Benares Hindu University on the 10th of August 1942, I should like to mention the meeting which the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University called, in the Arts College Hall, inviting all the students and the members of the staff. He addressed the meeting at 4 P.M. where he explained the grave situation created by the timid action of the Government. By his speech a sort of confusion prevailed in the minds of the audience when he spoke about the necessity of the hour. He was himself very much confused and took shelter by citing the different utterances of MAHATMA GANDHI. He asked the students to attend classes and requested the staff to cooperate in his work. But his speech was an utter failure. At the end of the meeting he took me in his car to his house and tried to explain things to me.

XXX XXX XXX

On the 19th August 1942 at half past three in the night the Collector of Benares with force consisting of 800 Tommies and 500 Indian soldiers and accompained by

some police and C.I.D. staff raided the University by breaking open the lock of the University gate. The number of the students left in the University was about 150. All of them were forcibly driven out of the hostels and their luggage thrown out of the University gate. The girls hostel was raided after 5 o'clock when the tommies took down the national flags which were hoisted on the different buildings in the compound and which they insulted. The girls students were likewise forcibly dragged out of their rooms with their luggage. The boys and girls were absolutely stranded in the open streets. There was no conveyance even to take the luggage of the students. The British soldiers even raided the S.S. Hospital of the University, where they did not spare to smash the dispensary, medicine bottles and other surgical materials. Besides this the raiders has actually taken away certain plants costing about 7 to 8 lac of rupees from the Engineering College which they immediately packed and despatches by lorries. All these news reached me in the village, where I was staying with my colleagues, through our messenger service. All these things were done without the previous permission of the Vice-Chancellor. Since then the University was controlled by the Military authorities. Thus ended the first phase of our activities in the Benares Hindu University.

XXX XXX XXX

———— ⁂ ————

29
Agitation in Gujarat States

F.10/IS/42-II August 20, 1942

A note on pro-Congress agitation in Gujarat States Agency by C.K. Daly, Resident, who reports the passing of War Risks (factories insurance ordinances 1942) and War Risks (goods insurance ordinance 1942) by the Baroda Government on the lines of the ordinances passed by the Indian Government. Their letter addressed to His Highness the Maharaja Partap Sinhji congratulating him on his not following the policy of brute force as has been done in the rest of India. The letter adds "We are glad to inform that when brute forces have been let loose in the whole of India by a barbaric Government, one ideal ruler has adopted a conciliating

policy towards his subjects when lathi charges, firings and tear gases are used freely everywhere in India, the subjects of Baroda State are carrying on with their work without any hit from the Government. Neither there were lathi charges, nor firing nor arrest of any leader. The example of Baroda ruler is worthy immitating by the rulers of Kathiawar, Rajputana and others ruler of India". The letter, however, cautions the State subjects that the Raja may not be able to hold too long against the pressure of the Resident. So the people should get ready for the sacrifice.

The telegram received with the Political Department dated 20-8-1942 from Resident Gujarat to Polinda says "local Congress having issued programme of obstruction of war effort in State was declared illegal yesterday (18th) and arrests effected. Hostile crowds against which lathi charge ineffectual fired on by States forces results two deaths both mill hands from outside the State. Situation in hand."

———— ·X· ————

30

Intelligence Reports Regarding Congress Preparations for the Countrywide Revolt

F.28/Cong/42-B.5 August 20, 1942

(Review of Revolutionary matters for the period ending 20th August 1942.)

(a) A.I.C.C. - The draft resolutions that Gandhi sent for adoption at the meeting of the Working Committee which began at Ahmedabad on 27th April showed clearly that he believed that Britain was incapable of defending India and that as Japan's quarrel was not with India but with the British Empire, India's first step if free would probably be to negotiate with Japan. It was also clear that if Japan attacked India, Gandhi intended that resistance should be by non-violent non-cooperation. From Kripalani's published note of the discussions it appears that of the members of the working Committee Rajendra Prashad and Vallabhbhai Patel, and of the invited congressmen Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya and Jairamdas Daulatram approved of it. Nehru disapproved strongly because it meant India's becoming

a passive partner of the Axis Powers. He declared that Gandhi's decision was governed by his belief that the Axis would win the war. Rajagopalachariar spoke against it, saying that Japan would fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of he British and that the resolution amounted to India's running into the arms of Japan. Azad, Bhulabhai Desai, G.B. Pant, and Asaf Ali, also spoke against it. In order to meet these objections Rajendra Prasad altered it omitting all direct references to negotiations with Japan. This amended resolution was then put to vote and passed in preference to a draft of Nehru's.

Those who voted "for" were Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, Sankarrao Deo, Sarojini Naidu, P.C. Ghosh of the working Committee, and Jairamdas Daulatram, Acharya Narendra Deo, Achyut Patwardhan, Gopinath Bardoloi, and Biswanath Das who though not members of the Working Committee had been invited to attend. Those who voted for Nehru's draft were Nehru, G.B. Pant, Bhulabhai Desai, and Asaf Ali, of the Working Committee, and Satyamurthi and Mrs. R.S. Pandit of the invited members. Although Rajendra Prasad's draft was passed in the morning, Abul Kalam Azad, the President, nevertheless, raised the matter again in the afternoon and persuaded the Committee to change its mind and pass Nehru's draft.

XXX XXX XXX

(b) Preventive Action:- It was decided in Bengal that on the passing of this resulution preventive arrests should be confined to ten members of the AICC and one of the B.P.C.C. who were members of the Khadi Group, the only section of the B.P.C.C. that was whole-heartedly in favour of the mass struggle, with the addition of two members of the Jugantar Party who were known to have been instigating their followers to take part in it when it started. These were -

(i) KHADI GROUP.

(1) Basanta Lal Murarka of Calcutta arrested on 12th August at Howrah Station.

(2) Sitaram Saxeria of Calcutta arrested on 12th August at Howrah Station.

(3) Arunangsu De of Calcutta - not found.

(4) Satnarain Misra of Calcutta - not found.

(5) Sushil Chandra Palit of Bankura - not found.

(6) Prafulla Chandra Sen (B.R. 537) of Hooghly- not found.

(7) Mihir lal Chatterji (B.R. 744) of Birbhum, arrested on 11th August at Howrah Station.

(8) Kumar Narayan Jana (B.R. 6012) of Midnapore, arrested in Midnapore.

(9) Charu Chandra Bhandari of 24-Parganas, arrested at Howrah Station on 11th August.

(10) Suresh Chandra Gupta of Barisal, arrested at Howrah Station on 11th August.

(11) Haripada Sarkar of Rangpur arrested at Howrah station on 11th August; and

(ii) JUGANTAR PARTY.

(12) Satindra Nath Sen Gupta (B.R. 533) of Barisal, arrested in Calcutta on 11th August.

(13) Jibananda Bhattacharji of Jessore, arrested in Calcutta on 18th August.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was declared an unlawful association, but not district and other committees.

(c) A.I.C.C. Instructions:- Among the papers brought back with them to Bengal by those who attended the Bombay Conference were Gandhi's last message (the copies seized on Haripada Sarkar at Howrah Station were in manuscript in Bombay Congress Office paper), a leaflet containing that message and instructions to all Provincial Congress Committees from the A.I.C.C., and an A.I.C.C. bulletin to workers giving instructions and on the steps to be taken to paralyse the administration. Gandhi's last message is as follows: "Every man is free to go to the fullest lengths under Ahimsa. Complete deadlock by strikes and all other possible non-violent means. Satyagrahis should go out to die, not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the Nation will survive. 'Do or Die'. The instructions were prefaced by the following:-

"With the arrests of Mahatma Gandhi every man and woman is India is his successor. Victory or death

should be the motto of every man and daughter of India. If we live, we live as free men; if we die, we die as free men. There can be no rest for us so long as Gandhiji is in jail.

"This is our final struggle. If all do their duty the struggle should finish in two months' time. All classes of men are called upon to join the fight. Millions have to move and break the chains that bind India. This struggle will include all activities that a non-violent mass struggle can include. Let our struggle gather momentum from day to day till it becomes an irresistible force and we regain our precious heritage. Let us be true to the message which Gandhiji was left us 'Do or Die'. The instructions were in 12 paragraphs, namely,-

(1) Country-wide hartal and meeting at which the "Quit India" message should be delivered.

(N.B. - Hartals and meetings were far from being countrywide in Bengal).

(2) Manufacture of salt in defiance of the Salt Act.

(N.B. - No cases reported in Bengal).

(3) The inhabitants of India's seven hundred thousand villages to withhold co-operation and revenue from the Government and also from the zamindars unless they also refuse co-operation with the Government.

(N.B. - No action on these lines reported from Bengal).

(4) Students above the age of 16 to leave Universities and colleges and to vitalise the dumb millions.

(N.B. - Apart from Calcutta and Dacca the response was poor).

(5) Government servants to resign or refuse to carry out orders designed to crush the people.

(N.B. - No resignations or refusals to carry out orders have been reported in Bengal).

(6) Indian soldiers to consider themselves as Congressmen and to refuse to obey orders "to lathi charge, tear gas or shoot down non-violent crowds".

(N.B. - No such refusal reported in Bengal).

(7) The people of the Indian States to wage a struggle against "the alien master" and also against the Princes if they side with the latter.

(N.B. - No reports received of any agitation in Cooch Behar and Tripura State).

(8) Indian women to play a decisive part in the non-violent struggle.

(N.B. - A leaflet was issued on this in Bengal, but women have not responded.)

(9) All to carry the badge "Do or Die".

(10) Communal and racial distinctions to be forgotten by the participants in the struggle.

(N.B. - With negligible exceptions in Dacca only Hindus have taken part in the movement in Bengal).

(11) "Provincial Autonomy is carrying the struggle. Ending of foreign rule is our objective. Whatever help in the attainment of that objective is subject to the inexorable conditions of non-violence permissible and legitimate. People in the provinces have to devise and adopt all non-violent ways to paralyse the administration. Every man is his guide and leader. All provinces have full provincial autonomy in the matter of carrying on the struggle. Let them remain true to non-violence and all will be well with the struggle. There is no place for fear in the struggle. It should be banished from our hearts. Each one of us should feel and assert that he is a freeman. Suffering that comes always as a consequence of this asserting and our action on it shall be cheerfully borne. Our leaders have done their part it is for those who are left out to do theirs. The burden of carrying on the struggle falls on them. Let them carry their burden worthily".

(12) Stimulation to the struggle to be given by the spinning of the charka.

(N.B. - No reports received that this is being obeyed.)

The instructions ended with a paragraph headed

"Gandhi's plan in brief". This reads as follows:- "According to the plan which he explained to the members of the working Committee, Gandhiji would start his mass movement with a general Hartal for 24 hours. It will be a day of fast and prayer. He does not want any public meeting to be held in cities and towns on the Hartal day, but he will direct the meetings to be held all over the villages in India to explain the Congress move. He will then enforce the 1920 programme of withdrawing students from Schools and Colleges, lawyers from law courts, Government servants from Government offices, policemen from police service, etc. The next stage would lead to breaking of salt on a large scale, picketing of foreign cloth, liquor shops, promoting industrial strikes, holding up the Railways, telegraph, calling army to come out, non-payment of taxes and setting up the parallel Government. If Gandhiji is left free, he will direct the movement stage by stage. If he is arrested it should be treated as a declaration of war by the Government against Congress. HE WILL ALSO RESORT TO FASTING IN THE JAIL. IF THE PEOPLE CARRY OUT HIS PROGRAMME AND REFUSE TO TOLERATE THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA HE MAY BREAK HIS FAST. This plan was discussed by the Working Committee and the members almost unaimously approve the same.

(N.B. - The grant of provincial autonomy in carrying on the struggle was indeed inevitable, as inevitable in fact as the violence that accompanied picketing and the holding up of the railways and communications by students, who in spite of the oft-repeated but specious appeal for non-violence, have been told by the A.I.C.C. that they are at war with Government).

If proof is wanted that the appeals for non-violence are hypocritical, it is to be found in the bulletin describing the steps that are to be taken to paralyse the administration. This bulletin opens with the following:-

"Our Chief task is to keep up the enthusiasm witnessed in urban India on the day of the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders and to organise it along positive lines and, at the same time, to work up rural India to a similar pitch of activity with a view to make the culminating point of our struggle simultaneous in all the country. The essential consideration is time. Not only that we have to show that we are worth within two or four weeks, for else Gandhiji

might resort to a fast but that our rural and urban movements should be so co-ordinated and timed together that the Government may not already have crushed the one before the other is ready to meet with the same fate."

It then describes how the village population is to be encouraged to "declare at public meetings and elsewhere that they are free and that the laws, taxation and the police and other arrangements of a foreign government no longer bind them. The beginning of such meetings may be made in the smallest units, say a village, but the activity must soon develop into freedom and fraternity processions marching from one village to another. All this is intended to lead to the bigger meeting of, say 10 to 20 villages, where the declaration of freedom and unity is reiterated.....

"Once the people are roused, and even while they are roused, their energies must be given a definite task. In the present circumstances this can be nothing else than the non-violent raids of thousands of people on the symbols and centres of British authority, the Thanas and the Tehsils. These must be put out of action. The police and other Government servants should be invited in the first instance to accept the authority of the people or, in their refusal to do so, should be dispossessed both of their weapons and their governmental positions. It is essential to remember:-

1. That such raids should take place in the best organised and awakened two or three tehsils of any one district and care should be taken not to select such places in which there is friction of any kind.

2. That not only these raids must be timed together in the same district but throughout the province, or at least, in the majority of districts where the Congress message has reached best.

The culminating point of these raids will be reached when the spontaneously awakened but organised energies of the people in their thousands raid that district headquarters. The government machinery will then not only be paralysed but shattered. Either at this moment, or in the process while this is being done, a parallel

authority of the people will be formed. This will be the beginning of the Free Indian State. It is also necessary to remember that efforts should be made to time together, as far as possible, the paralysis of the existing Government machinery in all the provinces. The climax of this paralysis should be designed to reach in four weeks from now or a little earlier, or a little later .....

The instructions in succession, therefore, are -

(1) Get everyone of our seven lakh villages to organise meetings for declaration of freedom.

(2) Organise freedom and fraternity marches from one village to another.

(3) Disobey Government authority and laws specially D.I.R. and engage in positive activity such as formation of people's executives and manufacture of salt and cessation of recruitment and war contributions.

(4) Put thanas and tehsils and later district head-quarters out of action through non-violence.

(5) Arrange completion of this programme in four weeks or thereabouts, we must, however, be alert and careful that we do not fall behind the temper of the people".

After an admonition that the urban population is to maintain and so strengthen the spirit of resistance that "in the event of firings a determined band of men and women at any rate should not run away", there follow the general instructions which are -

"(1) To canalise the spontaneous outburst of the people, an organised form should be given to it. An authoritative call for a general strike till Gandhiji and other leaders are back among us throughout the country is hereby given and in the first twenty cities of India effort should be made to make it complete.

(a) Colleges and universities must close indefinitely till fredom is won and Gandhiji is back among us. The striking students will (i) lead demons-trations in the towns or (ii) go into the villages to further our four weeks programme.

(b) All general offices such as wholesale trade, banks and other establishments must close and their

clerical personnel brought out. Retail shops with the exception of food and similar provisions must also be persuaded to close.

(c) Stoppage of work in manufacturing industries such as textiles and engineering should be completed in the course of the indefinite general strike and the workers brought out.

(2) Efforts should be made to reach the workers and clerical staff in the transport industry such as railways and docks in the government agencies such as Post and Telegraph and telephones and radio and in the electricity producing and distributing plants while the general strike in other spheres is maturing. When the culminating point of the general strike is reached, say three or four weeks from now, the call to strike should be given to this other category of workers and clerks.

(3) Care should be taken to see that the climax of the movement both in rural and urban India is reached in four weeks from now.

(4) Appropriate appeals should be made to every class of our population, workers in the manufacturing industries, workers in transport and government concerns, clerical staff all round, students, retail dealers through leaflets issued daily, differing in tones and directions in connection with our needs and the differing situation and through meetings and processions. In spite of the serious repression there. must be daily small meetings and processions in hundreds and thousands all over the town and bigger demonstration wherever possible, reiterating the declaring of freedom".

As to the "cadres, determined bands of men and women who will lead our revolution", the bulletin states that "nowhere was it more true than today that a revolution provides its own leadership. Moreover, the cadres, are already there, if only we make use of them. In addition to thousands of trained Congress workers who cannot all be clapped up in a day, not even in a fortnight if they choose to work rather than to court arrest, there will be hundreds of thousands of striking students, workers and clerks, particularly students. Upon there we can draw for our rural and urban work according to their talents and taste."

Then follows an introduction manifestly impossible of fulfilment: "None of our activity should be such as to endanger human life whether Indian or British and warnings should always be issued".

The bulletin ends as follows:-

"Again, how shall we infuse in our people the determination to face firing and yet not to retaliate in kind. In the earlier stages, hundreds will have to be ready to die but when that is done, the end will not be far off when considerable sections of the military and the police refuse to shoot or when, after the necessary non-violent strength is acquired the people start disarming the government forces without killing the personnel. The organisation of non-violence, pre-eminently the question of a thousand or so self-chosen martyrs in all the country.

In this connection appeals should be made to the military and the police through leaflets and personal approaches and brave encounters in the midst of an awkward situation. Indians among government forces should in the first instance be asked to regard themselves as free men and tq refuse to submit to foreign authority and to come over to the Indian revolution. If they cannot do this they should in the second instance be asked not to shoot at their own defenceless people fighting for their freedom as much as their own. Appeals not to shoot may also be addressed to British and American soldiers although the emphasis here will not be on national freedom but in human freedom and peace all over the world.

'DO OR DIE'

We will die, Great Leader, but
We will also do,
We will free Gandhiji before he fasts,
Long Live the Free State of India".

(d) Development of the struggle in Bengal. - Before the return of the members of the AICC from Bombay the B.P.C.C. does not appear to have received any instructions about the lines on which the mass struggle was to be conducted, although Dr. Prafulla Ghosh has already given fairly accurate although incomplete indications during his conversations with his followers in Calcutta and Midnapore. For this he was rebuked by Abul Kalam Azad on 3rd August who told him that

the movement would not be detailed by Gandhi till after the Working Committee's resolution had been ratified. Kiran Shankar Ray, whose strong disapproval of the proposal to launch a movement was known, is reported to have told Azad that it would not be a success in Bengal in spite of hardships caused to villagers by evacuation orders and the denial policy. His reasons, it is reported were the preponderance of Moslems in East Bengal, where Congress was very weak, the lack of a popular leader, and the lack of the true Congress spirit. As an instance of the latter he quoted Kamini Datta's interest in the National War Front in Tippera, and three Congressmen in Midnapore who had offered bail in criminal proceedings (subsequently, they appeared in court on the day fixed even after the movement had started). He said that Gandhi was just as wrong in starting an aggressive movement without assessing the support that he would receive as Subhas Bose was playing into the hands of the Axis Powers without ascertaining whether he could be able to covert the masses to the view that independence should be won with Axis help.

A synopsis is given as an appendix of the incidents that have occured day by day in Bengal in pursuance of the mass struggle. It shows that there are only two places in Bengal, namely Calcutta and Dacca, where violence and rowdyism have occurred on a scale even remotely approaching that reached in Bombay, Delhi and in other Provinces. The inferences that may justly be drawn from this are that in Bengal as a whole, although the arrest of Gandhi and the Congress leaders is regretted in all Hindu political circles, the mass struggle has not met with public approval, and that the Congress organisation is weak and has little influence over the general mass of the people in spite of its claim to the contrary. In all places it has been the Hindu student community that has taken the leading part in the incidents that have occurred, and in Calcutta and Dacca they have been helped in their violent activities by common rowdies, but to what extent it is not yet clear. It is but natural that this should be so for these are the only two places in Bengal where there are both swarms of students and swarm of riff-raff.

Another inference to be drawn from the synopsis is that no thorough preparations were made by the B.P.C.C.

for conducting the mass struggle, and that no detailed instructions had been circulated to the district Committees in advance. Had there been any such preparations and instructions hartals and student-strikes would either have not occurred, or else would have been general instead of local. Those who were ready to throw themselves into the fray were in fact waiting for instructions. The newspaper accounts of what happened elsewhere in India immediately after the arrest of the Congress leaders in Bombay did not stir them to action. They were waiting for the lead which came with the Bengal representatives who returned from Bombay with copies of "Gandhi's last message" and instructions issued by the AICC. The earliest that any is known to have returned was 11th August and it was on 13th August that the demonstrations of students became violent in Calcutta and Dacca. There can be no doubt that in these two places the instigators of the the disturbances were encouraged to carry out these instructions by reading about the exploits of their brethren in other provinces. Acts of violence and destruction continued in Dacca till the 17th, and in Calcutta till the 20th although they had been diminishing in number and seriousness since the 17th. In both places strong measures were adopted by the authorities to deal with the preparators of these deeds, including the opening of fire upon them, and the freedom of these cities from any further deeds of destruction is largely due to those measures. But another factor undoubtedly contributed to this result, namely, the waning of enthusiasm. It is the nature of the young bhadralok to be swept away by temporary enthusiasm and to be soon disheartened by failure. It is when enthusiasm is waning that the members of the revolutionary societies, who though not free from the common failing have more determination and do not give in so soon, may be expected to devote their energies to whipping up flagging spirits. In order to guard against this a number of leading members of these societies have been arrested and orders have been issued for the arrests of others, both in Calcutta and the districts. Fortunately the most inspiring leaders of all these societies had already been put under lock and key long before this movement began and the societies were left in a state of great organisational weakness. Had this not been the case, there is not the slightest doubt that the movement would have been

on a much greater scale and more widespread. Another reason for the continued attack on these societies is to guard against the recrudescence of terrorism which may well follow this movement. What appears to be the first step in this direction is a dacoity by young men armed with daggers in Mymensingh town on 18th August, as a result of which a gun, a revolver and a sum of more than Rs. 14,000 have been seized by the culprits. It is not yet known whether they belonged to any particular sect of society, but the most vigorous enquiry is necessary to trace them and to paralyse the gang in order to prevent the commission of other and perhaps more serious crimes of violence.

The attitude of each secret and other political organisation towards the present movement and the extent to which members are known to have abetted it are described in the following paragraphs.

(e) Jugantar Party. - In Calcutta after the arrest of the Congress leaders in different provinces, Bhupati Charan Mazumdar (B.R. 5693) apprehended a general arrest of all men connected with the Congress and issued instructions to the members of the Jugantar Party not to assemble at the Congress office or to participate openly in any demonstration. Those members who were residing at 32, Upper Circular Road, the office of the B.P.C.C. moved their quarters at once. Adwaita Charan Datta (B.R.1209) and Bhupendra Mazumdar instigated representatives of the Vidyasagar, City, Bangabasi and other colleges in Calcutta to join the movement and urged them to make it a success. Sudhir Kumar Ghosh (B.R.321) took upon himself the task of creating unrest among the labourers of different mills and factories and is reported to have been assured of co-operation from the labour leaders of Jamshedpur, Burnpur (Burdwan) and the Kesho Ram Cotton Mills (24-Parganas). He is also reported to have made plans to cut the Bengal and Assam Railway main line beyond Dum Dum. The party is reported to have obtained chemicals with which to make bombs to burn and kill Europeans in general and sergeants of police in particular, and on the subsiding of the movement in Calcutta to intend to cause it to spread to the districts when police stations will be burnt and courts captured. As was expected, Bhupati Charan Mazumdar has warned the Jugantar members against joining the movement in large numbers. These instructions appear to have been communicated to the Mymen-

singh party where separate groups have been formed for carrying on the secret organisation and the open movement and the Jana Raksha Bahini (People's Defence Corps) which was organised by the party is to be kept as a distinct organisation separate from the Congress. Here too the members have decided to form secret committees of three members in each subdivision to be in charge of the Congress movement. At a secret meeting held in Mymensingh on 2nd August, five members of the party are said to have expressed the view that they would not hesitate to use arms against the Police if the latter adopted repressive measures. One member who pointed out that they should do nothing without the Permission of the leaders was jeered at. Instructions from Calcutta to start the movement atonce were received on 13th August. The Tangail group in this district is said to have four revolvers. On 17th August Bhupati Mazumdar gave Rs. 50/- to one Paresh Chandra Biswas and sent him to Chittagong to organise the movement, hinting that the regular running of the Chittagong Mail reflected little credit on the Chittagong Party. A wire was sent and he was arrested there. In Khulna the Bagerhat group is reported to have decided to commit mail robberies on the Khulna-Bagerhat Railway, loot the local treasury, and commit dacoities. Nirupam Chatarji, the leader of this group has, however, since been arrested for making a prejudicial speech. At Dacca Jiten Kushiari (B.R.3988) visited an Anushilan leader and asked to be introduced into the labour areas where the Anushilan Samiti had influence so that strikes might be organised, but he was refused. Sudhir Kumar Ghosh approached Birendra Nath Bhattacharji (B.R. 3240 of the C.S.P., since arrested) who agreed to join the movement and undertook the printing and circulation of the AICC instructions to the P.C.Cs. in Bengali. In Bakarganj members are taking part and talk of looting and burning police-stations and post offices and cutting telegraph wires.

An appeal to officers of the D.I.B. not to do their duty by deleting passages in his letters that conveyed instructions to party members outside jail was made by security prisoner Arun Guha in a letter to a friend. He said that a fund had been opened for giving financial help to any police officer who lost his job through patriotic disobedience of orders.

The following members have been arrested under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules:-

(1) Dr. Jadu Gopal Mukharji (G.L.1311) - in Ranchi, on 9th August, (By Bihar S.B. independently but the arrest is of importance to Bengal.)

(2) Satindra Nath Sen Gupta (B.R.553) of Bakarganj (member, B.P.C.C.) - in Calcutta on 11th August.

(3) Miss Bina Das (B.R.1870) - in Calcutta on 15th August.

(4) Dhirendra Ray (B.R.6869) of Mymensingh - in Mymensingh on 17th August.

(5) Bhupati Charan Mazumdar (B.R.5459) of Hooghly and Calcutta (Vice-President, B.P.C.C.) - in Calcutta on 18th August.

(6) Kohinoor Ghosh (B.R.3822) of Dacca, Mymensingh and Calcutta - in Calcutta on 18th August.

(7) Jibananda Bhattacharji, son of Biseswar, of Jessore, and Calcutta - in Calcutta on 18th August.

(8) Paresh Biswas, son of Bipin, of Chahanahara, Chittagong - in Chittagong on 19th August.

(9) Pramode Basu alias Bilwa, son of Jnanendra, of Panjia, Jessore and Calcutta - in Jessore on 19th August.

(10) Sudhir Ghosh (B.R.321) of Bakarganj - in Bakarganj on 19th August.

(11) Ashutosh Mukharji (B.R.409) of Bakarganj and Calcutta - in Bakarganj on 20th August.

(12) Bipin Bihari Ganguli (B.R.8746) of 24-Parganas and Calcutta - in Calcutta on 21st August.

(13) Jagannath Talapatra, son of Jatindra Mohan, of Sikarpur, Nadia and Calcutta - in Nadia on 22nd August.

(14) Bhupendra Mazumdar (B.R.5693) of Jessore and Calcutta - in Calcutta on 23rd August.

(15) Paresh Maitra alias Mangla (B.R.6741) of Mymensingh and Calcutta - in Calcutta on 23rd August.

(16) Jugal Kishore Datta (B.R. 1223) of Calcutta - in Calcutta on 23rd August.

The arrest has been ordered of the following:-

(1) Hemanta Tarafdar (B.R.5733) of Jessore and Calcutta.

(2) Jyotish Chandra Bhaumik (B.R.7200) of Noakhali and Calcutta.

(3) Krishnananda Das Gupta, son of Ram Nath, of Faridpur and Bakarganj.

(4) Sudhir Ghosh (B.R. 7504) of 24-Parganas and Calcutta.

(5) Adwaita Charan Datta (B.R.1209) of Calcutta.

(6) Sukumar Guha of Bakarganj.

(7) Ambika Mazumdar (B.R.7331) of Noakhali.

(8) Sushil Mazumdar (B.R.425) of Bakarganj.

(9) Dr. Hemendra Chakrabartti, son of Sachindra Chandra, of Patdha, Karimganj, and Kishoreganj town, Mymensingh.

(10) Professor Jyotish Chandra Ghosh (B.R.797).

———— ·X· ————

31
Hartals and Demonstrations in Bengal

F.24/Cong/42-V August 20, 1942

A note on the Congress activities in Bengal from August 9 to 20 reveals partial hartals at Calcutta, Dacca, Barisal, Murshidabad and Faridpur. In Calcutta, a large demonstration by students was dispersed, some students were barricaded, army and police lorries stoned; 2 British soldiers injured. Police opened fire five times. Damage was done to telephone and electric wires. In Dacca, mobs of students attacked the Civil Court and a police out-post; telephone wires were cut, post offices were raided and rails removed and D.I.B. officers molested. In Howrah and Murshida-bad telephone, telegraph wires, etc. were cut.

———— ·X· ————

32

Birla and Industrialists Responsible for Gandhi's Movement

F.6/IS/42-A August 20, 1942

(Extracts from letter No. CS/42 dated Rajkot 20th August, 1942 from the Hon. Resident for the States of Western India to the Secy. to the Crown Representative, Political Committee, New Delhi forwarding for information a copy of secret report received from Political Agent, Kathiawar Agency.)

The report is from Roderick Parkes to Sir Edmund.

While referring to the closure of a mill in Ahmedabad during the 1942 disturbances Parkes writes "Sethi Rati Lal's desire to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds is well known, but I could not understand why he, as a good Bania, should close mill and thereby forego the considerable profit he is at present making merely to keep in with the local Congress Organization, which is not of course very influential.

I have heard that certain Indian commercial interests, Birla etc. was mainly responsible for the ultimate breakdown of the Cripps discussions and it is tempting to quote that the same interests are behind Gandhi's present and somewhat bustling action. If this view is accepted as a possibility then a careful analysis and tabulation of the account taken for example by each Ahmedabad Mill-owner might perhaps disclose a connected policy which would be of interest to Government. Presumably the train of thought would be "all out co-operation with war effort involves scorched up tactics. If the Japanese win, as well they may, we shall be left with nothing but our scorched earth. If the British win there will still be a long time lag before our factories are rebuilt. Therefore, we can have all out co-operation. If this might have been their reasoning at any time of Cripps Mission, it might have developed on somewhat the following lines with the deterioration in the war situation. Nehru, I believe said that Gandhi thought the Axis would win and if Gandhi reflects he, the 'bear' view taken by those commercial interests, the reasoning might now be - obstruct the war effort at this critical moment, then,

if the Japanese win, as looks possible, we can expect gratitude and the retention of our factories in taxt. Should the British win, however, we lose nothing because independent commerce and otherwise after the war has already been irrevocably considered. My suggestion, therefore, in a nut-shell is that the present Congress move may perhaps have been caused by a consequent of Indian commercial interests "vis Gandhi" anxious to take out a war risk insurance policy vs. the Japanese.

———— ※ ————

33

Movement in C.P. & Berar and Police Repression

F.24/Cong/42-C.I August 20-25, 1942

According to a C.I.O. Nagpur fortnightly report for the first of August, 1942, news of Gandhi's arrest came as a severe shock in Nagpur. Hartals everywhere successful except in the case of Muslims were observed and protest meetings which in Nagpur were representatives of all parties were held. Textile mills in Nagpur also closed down. Police outposts in the city were burnt down. City post office and railway station were attacked, food shops were looted, military were called in on August 12 and curfew imposed, firing by the police and the military led to 200 deaths in Nagpur city. At Ramtek police station tehsil buildings, railway station and treasury (was) burnt down, a train was burnt and reports have come of attacks on other police and railway stations in the interia.

In the rest of the province, there were usual Congress activities with occasional police firing. Muslims everywhere with the exception of hooligans participating in looting have kept themselves aloof. No organised attack on persons and few police officers have been assulted. Congress pamphlets and leaflets printed and typed proclaiming the Congress programme have been widely distributed. In the opening stages of the movement, students led in all things, all schools and colleges were closed and picketed, organised demonstrations and addressed meetings. Their activities only went into the background when violence broke out. Communists are considerably perturbed over this move-

ment. Hindu Sabha is joining hands with the Congress. League has voiced Congress Civil Disobedience as propaganda. As regards Congress Socialists and Hindustan Red Army, these seem to be responsible for all the incendiarism and sabotage which occurred in Nagpur and its leaders V.S. Dandikar, Magan Lal Bagdi and S.N. Kashmiri have gone underground. Everywhere block leader R.S. Ruikar have been active at Jabbalpur, a successful hartal and a meeting of 3,000 persons. All members of the AICC and ministers arrested at Malkapur during their return journey from Bombay. According to a report of the Hindustan Times dated 13.8.42 police fired on August 12 afternoon 95 rounds with 12 casualties. Attempts were made to burn down co-operative bank, curfew has been imposed, students took out a number of processions and picketed colleges. Firing at Wardha where one person was killed and an attempt to burn down post office and Imperial Bank and the tehsil office were made at Amraoti. In Raipur a stronghold of the Congress, the agitation is being conducted on non-violent lines. Trouble is spreading to the countryside and it appears that persons have been despatched from Nagpur to work up the agitation. Congress leaders like Bhalwan Rao Deshpande of the Kisan Sabha and Messrs Varwe, Akarty and Belsaro have been arrested at Amraoti where the curfew is imposed. Police had to open fire on August 13 in Nagpur, the hooligans damaged railway property, railway goods shed at Itawara was also looted and other usual activities followed. In Nagpur police and military opened fire in four or five storm centres to disperse crowds. At two places firing was resorted to about half a dozen times, looting and destruotion of property have been reported on a wide scale. Disturbed areas have been completely cardoned, ingress and egress are being directly controlled. No one is allowed to visit the disturbed areas. It is not possible to communicate with people living in the area telephonically. All schools and colleges even European schools have been closed down. At Wardha on August 14 police firing thrice to disperse a crowd in Kharangra village few miles from Wardha - one person was killed. Situation in Deoli 10 miles from Wardha was also serious, sub post office and police station being burnt down. Special powers have been given by the Government to the military. The Commerce College at Wardha was taken over by Government. Disturbances were also reported from two railway stations in Hoshangabad District.

On August 15 in Nagpur police had to open fire thrice. Cyclostyled copies of the Congress instructions have come to notice. By 18th August it was reported that the situation in Nagpur city was quiet. Schools and colleges opened. No detailed or authentic account available of the situation in the interior of Nagpur. Disturbances at Saner and Umred in the Nagpur District were quickly brought under control. Police firing on a crowd attempted to enter tehsil at Saoner. Figures of casualties in Nagpur from August 12, 15, military fired 47 rounds according to Hindustan Times dated 18.8.42 on 25 occasions, number killed was 30 and wounded 14. The police fired 167 rounds on 13 occasions. Fine of Rs.3,000/- imposed on Ramtek Distt. where tehsil and police station and other government buildings were burnt down, disturbances at Chimur and Ashti but no details given.

The areas most seriously affected, according to C.I.O. Nagpur daily report dated 20.8.42 at Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Amraoti and Betul Distt. and it is reported that the Congress stoned a mess in the outlying districts. Chhatisgarh is free from violent activities, feeling among the people are still running high and extreme bitterness prevails. Refers to the circulation of three fresh bulletins in Marathi.

The C.P. Government turned down a demand for a general enquiry into firing and C.P. police had to open fire in Warasseoni, Balaghat Districts. The usual Congress instructions cyclostyled and circulated in C.P. including attacks on Government and public buildings, burning down of police station, closing of schools and colleges and mills, cutting of telegraph wires etc.

The trouble according to a C.P. police abstract No.33 dated 22.8.42 spread to the countryside and at Ramtek Rs.3½ lakhs were removed from the treasury. The police station housed at Moudha, Kuhi and an outpost and timber depot at Khapa and at Seoner was burnt and post office equipment destroyed. The railway stations at Tillod, Saoner, Khapa and Kuhi was also burnt. In Wardha a Magistrate and a police party were assaulted. Police fired 4 rounds, curfew was imposed in Chanda. At Chimur, Udao, Tukaram, Korekar, Sunar instigated the non-payment of taxes and disobedience of laws. All Government buildings were burnt down at Chimur and on the 16th S.D.O. Naib Tehsildar, Circle Inspector

and 1 Constable was murdered. In Betul meetings and processions - two constables were assaulted at Pattan, their uniforms were burnt. In Jubbalpur Congress meeting was dispersed by use of tear gas and cane charges. Post office was looted and police outposts attacked. In Saugor and Damoh processions of school boys, meetings and processions at Hoshangabad. In Akola Weaving Department of Sawat Ram Mills refused to weave cloth for the army, telephone and telegraph wires were cut. Procession of 2,000 removed letter boxes, broke electric lamps and was dispersed by lathi-charge, mail box looted at Paras Weelezuon railway station.

A gazette extraordinary issued by the C.P. Government dated 22.8.42 stated that a fine of Rs.50,000 has been imposed on the inhabitance of the Ashti in Wardha and villages within a radius of 10 miles from that town and a fine of Rs.100,000 on the inhabitance of Chimur in Chand District and villages within a radius of 10 miles from that town as in both the cases these areas are concerned in and are abetting the campaign pre-judicially affecting the public sacety and the maintenance of law and order and are harbouring people concerned with the campaign of such offences and are suppressing material evidence of the campaign of such offences. The Deoli Municipal Committee in Wardha District, Mowar Municipal Committee in Nagpur District, were superseded. According to the Statesman report 350 arrests were made in Nagpur and 51 at Jubbalpur. At the village Chichili in Narsinghpur sub-division a village was raided to arrest some persons. Important among those Ashramites of Sewagram and the Nalwadi Tanning Factory who went into the interior of Wardha for the movement are Sadhuvhau Garde, Balaji Moghe, Mohanlal Chaji, Kundu Dewan etc. A procession by 13 girls of Mahila Ashram of Wardha and another procession in Nagpur were reported by C.I.O. Nagpur dated 26.8.42.

According to an Intelligence Report for the second week of August, the Congress took advantage of the Tilak Jayanti celebrations to do propaganda in favour of Civil Disobedience Movement. The arrest of all leaders of the province on 9th, the declaration of the Congress Committees as unlawful associations and the seizure of their offices was a complete surprise. Of the 117 persons on the list of the more prominent Congress organisers prepared in advance only 5 succeeded in going underground. AICC members from this province

were arrested at Malkapur and Khandwa on their return journey from Bombay. R.S. Shukla told the police party that "The people were taking a more intelligent view of the Congress Movement and that 200 constables in Poona had immediately resigned from service." When the trouble started at Nagpur the roads were barricaded at night and government buildings and police outposts were burnt down.

According to a C.I.D. report dated 11.9.42, the movement continued viz.taking out of processions in Nagpur, pasting of posters, Quit India notices, arrests of Mahila Ashram girls in Narelha, processions at Sindi and Hinganghat by the followers of Tikdoji Bawa in Chhindwara. Sixteen fish plates and bolts were removed near Seoni in Jubbalpur, individual satyagraha continues, schools and colleges picketed; telegraph wires cut, acid thrown into R.M.S. post box, fish plates and bolts removed of B.M. railway line. Satya-graha was started in Katni and six other station offices in Saugor procession of women. Forest satya-graha in Rehli, Banda and Kasli station office took place, sabotage occurred in Hoshangabad Distt. were 173 feet of telegraph wire was cut and removed. Arrests were made in Bilaspur and Raipur, disturbances at Amroti where the government buildings and police stations were attacked, recruiting office burnt, rails were removed in Akola and a troop train was derailed, telephone wires were cut. In Yeotmal Distt. six village meetings were held and non-payment of rent advocated.

By a gazette extraordinary the C.P. Government has exempted Muslim inhabitants from liability to pay any portion of the collective fines imposed in certain areas of six districts of Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and Amraoti. The exemption will not extend to such individuals of the Muslim community as have in the opinion of the District Magistrates concerned taken part in the disturbances in the areas.

C.I.D. report dated 25.9.42 refers to minor sabotage attempt in Nagpur, arrest of 18 persons in Wardha for taking out processions in defiance of orders, lathi-charge on processions at Chanda, arrests at Mul and Chikli, objectionable pamphlets in Jabbalpur, hartal in Katni, distribution of Congress pamphlets in I.A.O.C. Training Centre, calling upon Indian soldiers to rebel and join the Congress movement, forest satyagraha at

Bagraj, complete hartal in Saugor on 6th October, stoning of police, picketing by women, burning of post-office records etc. between lst and 6th September in Banda forest range, about 770 trees were cut and two boundary pillars were dismantelled, picketing of schools at Bina and Damoh and minor activities were reported from several other districts especially Akola, Amroti, Bilaspur, Bhandara.

According to a news report in the Statesman, the Government of C.P. has decided to take action to prohibit the possession of wireless receiving sets which are being used for undesirable purposes. Deputy Commissioners are being authorised to cancel licences issued under the Indian Telegraph Act in respect of the wireless receiving sets which they have received, are being used for undesirable purposes.

Forest satyagraha was reported in Kundam police station circle, Jabbalpur Distt. and Majhgawan Circles.

———— ⁂ ————

34
Prominent Leaders Draft Instructions after Gandhi's Arrest

F.24/Cong./42-V August 21, 1942

According to the C.B.IV dated 21.8.42 after the arrests of Congress leaders at Bombay, Sucheta Kripalani, Sadiq Ali Gidwani, M.L. Saxena, Mihir Lal Chatterjee, Kalipada Mukherjee, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Gopi Nath Bardoloi and several others met on 9.8.42 at Birla House, the very place where Gandhiji had been arrested and prepared a draft purporting to be the instructions from the A.I.C.C. to all P.C.Cs. regarding the programme of the campaign. This was immediately despatched through representatives of the different provinces who had not yet dispersed. After this, three youths, one a relation of Patil, Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Committee, a relative of K.M. Munshi and a representative of Bhola Bhai Desai met the A.I.C.C. representatives of all the provinces in their respective places of residence and requested them to hurry to their provinces and take the movement seriously on the basis of Gandhi's parting message.

They also added that the details of the movement they will come to know from the happenings in Bombay hinting that the campaign of lawlessness had been a premeditated plan.

We find from a letter from the Deputy Director, Intelligence Peshawar, to the Deputy Director Administration I.H.H.D., New Delhi that the instructions purporting to have emanated from the All-India Congress Committee were brought by Mohan Lal Saxena when he visited this province recently. Abdul Ghaffar Khan also received instructions from one Khurshaid of Bombay the contents of whose letters are "I trust you have received all the instructions on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee. The Committee programme has been sent to you and we trust you will put into effect as will be successful in your province." The writer has also mentioned the names of Amtul Salam (an inmate of Sewagram Ashram - according to the C.I.D. comment) and Mridula (Sarabhai) and he said was with him. C.I.D. comment "the date of Khurshaid Ben's letter might have a significance. The 'we' in her letter shows that she has taken a more prominent part in the draft C.S.P. circular. Please see in this connection pages 217 and 228/C of her p.f. She was drifted towards revolutionary ideas since 1939 and in April, 1942 when Gandhi propounded his present programme, she seems to have jumped into it with a splash".

There is a circular entitled 'declaration of independence' issued by the Markaz-i-ala Sardaryab asked the Pathans to side with Congress in the present struggle and take part in the fight of Civil Disobedience patiently and non-violently. It contains usual instructions which are said to have been handed over to Mr. Shastri, M.L.A. and Azamgarh of U.P. by Abdul Ghaffar Khan who issued instructions to the Congressites in all the provinces who had approached him for advice after the arrest of congress leaders (1) Meetings and processions and broadcast Congress programme (2) Every province who declared itself independent on a fixed date (3) paralyse the government machinery (4) after the declaration of independence instructions be issued in each province according to circumstances (5) programme in its various phases to be terminated by September. (6) In this province (N.W.F.P.) we are going to make a declaration of independence very

shortly and afterwards we will take steps to occupy office of different departments". The letter is signed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and is dated 27.8.42.

———— ·X· ————

35

K.D. Malaviya's Role in U.P.

F.24/Cong/42-V August 21,1942

(Extract from a letter No. G/C.10.B.Sat/42 dated August 21,1942 from U.P.S.B. to the Secretary, U.P. Government)

The work of directing the movement in U.P. is reported to have been left to Kesho Deo Malviya who is on tour in this connection. It is said that his instructions advocated violent and non-violent methods and that the District authorities are being asked not to pass for lack of funds as he is prepared to give upto Rs.10,000 to each District for this purpose. The U.P. Congress leaders Balkrishna Sharma and Dr. Jawahar Lal of Kanpur, Piare Lal Agarwal and Hamid Khan who had gone to Bombay to attend a meeting of the AICC had agreed that leaders should risk arrests one by one.

———— ·X· ————

36

Draft of Congress Campaign at Secret Meeting after Leaders' Arrest

F.24/Cong/42-V August 21, 1942

According to the C.B.IV dated 21-8-42 after the arrests of Congress leaders at Bombay, Sucheta Kripalani, Sadiq Ali, Gidwani, M.L. Saxena, Mihir Lal Chatterjee, Kalipada Mukherjee, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Gopi Nath Bardoloi and several others met on 9.8.42 at Birla House, the very place where Gandhiji had been arrested and prepared a draft purporting to be the instructions from the AICC to all P.C.Cs. regarding the programme of the campaign. This was immediately

despatched through representatives of the different provinces who had not yet dispersed. After this, three youths, one a relation of Patil, Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Committee, a relative of K.M. Munshi and a representative of Bhulabhai Desai met the AICC representative of all the provinces in their respective places of residence and requested them to hurry to their provinces and take the movement seriously on the basis of Gandhi's parting message. They also added that the details of the movement they will come to know from the happenings in Bombay hinting that the campaign of lawlessness had been a premeditated plan.

———— ·X· ————

37

Political Agent's assessment of Situation in Nilgiri State

F.10/IS/42-II August 21-23, 1942

Telegram dated 21 August, 1942, from Captain Biscoe, Assistant Political Agent, Orissa State, Camp Nilgiri, arrived 20th to find the following situation. Banamali Dass absconding in Orissa. I am asking Balasore to arrest him. K.C. Mahanty, Member all-India Congress and 15 others mostly circle president of the Congress in jail arrested on August 13, and following days. As soon as the situation is restored, suggest their removal to Mayurbhanj. Persons arrested were followed by crowds to jail and processions progressively larger have been demonstrating every few days. Last one of 4th came August 18. Even larger processions expected August 21. Meanwhile complete boycott debarring all State servants from all supplies or services began August 15th. Though crowds have merely shouted slogans, waving flags and have been unarmed, I consider situation may easily deteriorate. Already some looting occurred chiefly by pickets of seasoning supply coming to towns. So far no State servant has resigned except five headmen but Darbar considers unless supplies restored many servants will cease work within two days including police. Our force consists of 10 constabulary armed with short guns plus a reserve of 12 forest guard with ruling chief rifles. Police weapons not fired since 1938 and little praiseworthy ammunition for them in

States. State Gurkhas, Hawaldars left on August 20 to recruit 25 Gurkhas from Calcutta, and not expected before August 27. As any complete breakdown in administration might quickly lead to widespread disturbances affecting Orissa, restoration of situation is required promptly with joint police.

C.P. Hancok of Eastern States Agency, Hastings House, Alipore, Calcutta informed Sir K. Fitze, Secretary to His Excellency, the Crown Representative, in his letter dated August 24, 1942, regarding the Nilgiri situation that I have instructed Biscoe to remain at Nilgiri until the joint police had arrived and the ring leaders of the boycott imposed against State servants have been arrested. He also writes about the Raja of Nilgiri that he is a weak but willing person and he and his officials are completely out of touch with the subjects of the State and if the Orissa coasts were invaded, our troops could not, in the present circumstances, expect much assistance from Nilgiri States.

D.H. Biscoe, Raja Nilgiri in his report dated 23-8-42, wrote that he has advised the Darbar to give no provocation and to offer no resistance until it was forced on them and to refrain from taking the initiative until we could be sure that any direction issued could be carried through. I personally instructed Biscoes Wrights, instructed the Police Superintendent in the principles of using armed forces against a mob. I arranged for selecting men who had in the past handled fire arms to be given instructions unobtrusively the same evening in proper control lock of the officer incharge. After having a walk in the town and discussing with reliable persons I advised the Darbar as to the best place in which to station the lathi police, armed police, their reserve of armed forest guard and also how best to maintain communications.

I myself arranged to be inspecting the hospital at the time at which the procession on the 22nd was expected to reach the law courts and offices which they intended to close. This was astrategic position where I could see without being seen and could maintain communications. I asked the santri at the Guest House whether he had ever fired a rifle knowing fully well that he has not done so. Out of this arose a friendly lesson unpractice with live ammunition. As I anticipated the news got out that the Darbar was prepared and would not hesitate to use arm forces with

the backing of the A.P.A. As a result of this the crowd which had gathered received this news. My gamble with the Oriya temperament was the crowds dispersed then and there without approaching the town. Meanwhile having found out that a Joolan Jathra or some Hindu festivals in honour of the God being celebrated I asked that Darbar to declare a public holiday in honour of it and of me. This was done so that if the crowds come they would have found all the offices closed.

Meanwhile I received the information by a telegram about the demonstrations by the Air Craft. I at once came out and waved to them and pointed out to all whom I saw that they were our own "Blenhom Fighter Bombers".

During my visits to the town I was told that the city officials were very much frightened and ready to give in if the boycott was not soon stopped. To these faint hearts I dropped hints that I have my own plan and they would only have to stick it out for another three or four days. By that time I trust that the joint police would have arrived. The morale of the Darbar throughout is very low and my advice is constantly sought. Apart from the present boycott they have received direct threats that with effect from 1.9.1942 the people would take the mass forest offences. I suggested that the Darbar should inform village chaukidars who continued to come in daily to offer their resignation that the situation is being dealt with and their resignations will not be accepted and they should therefore, continue to be loyal for another week or so until we got into action. Secondly, it should be made known by spreading rumours that the Darbar will not hesitate to use the enhancement of ordinance including whipping if their subjects continued to be misled for more than a few days. Thirdly, the Collective Fines Ordinance should be promulgated at once that the Darbar would not tolerate any damage to the forest which bring in wealth which is used for the people's needs and the Darbar realised on the people, particularly all villagers close to the jungle, that their national heritage is not destroyed. After due consideration the Darbar decided to enforce territorial responsibility which means that if any damage is done the villagers concerned will have three alternatives: first to this is arrest the culprit; second to give information leading to the arrest of the culprit by the Darbar, thirdly to pay a fine collectively to meet

the value of the damage done. In the end Biscoe suggested that the next market to be held should be arranged and if there are pickets they should be arrested and conveyed by lorries to about 20 miles from their homes and released. I do not anticipate any dangerous situation unless the aborigines are provoked either by the agitators or by an injudicious act of the Darbar.

———— ·X· ————

38
Disturbances in Indore

F.6/IS/42-II August 22, 1942

A.C.K. Maunsell, Secretary to the Resident for Central India while giving a summary of disturbances at Indore (August 22, 1942) refers to the disturbance that started with the closure of schools and colleges, students of Holkar and Christian College together with Medical School picketed the streets and bazars asking the shopkeepers to observe hartal, refers to the communication with Mhow being damaged, reliable crossing gates and railway station broken, rolling stock damaged and a petrol pump set on fire. All the mills went on strike and mobs of thousands of labourers thronged the streets. Leaflets were distributed directing mob to attack Residency, Post & Telegraph Offices and Treasury. Medical School was closed sine die. Caders at Mhow numbering 600 and at the State Force School, however, remained "sensible". Praja Mandal workers who endeavoured to hold a meeting were arrested. Praja Mandal was declared an unlawful body. Efforts to picket Government buildings proved unsuccessful.

Then follows letters exchanged between the Maharaja Indore and the President of the Indore Rajya Praja Mandal, V.G. Sarvati. Maharaja advising the Praja Mandal to reconsider their decision and refrain from indulging in selfish nationalisation and destructive propaganda which would only jeopardise the position of China, Russia and the rest of the world not to say of their own country. And Sarvati replying that a foreign bureaucracy as India has failed to enlist the support of the Indian people for the successful prosecution of war and alluding to the apprehension that the anti-

British feeling in India may not turn into pro-Japanese and this can be averted only when the people are free and feel that it is the people's war. Thus India would be able to render effective help to China and Russia in their heroic fight against Axis aggression. It is not a question of selfish-nationalism for India at this fateful hour but it is a much larger question of saving freedom throughout the world from the menace of facist dictatorship.

———— ·X· ————

39
Unrest in Calcutta

F.28/Cong/42-A-I August 22, 1942

(Extract from para No. 126 of the Special Branch Daily Notes dated the 21st August 1942, received with Calcutta S.B. Memo No. C.M.579/42, dated 22.8.42.)

In continuation of para.121. The day was quiet. In the morning a military lorry going to Dum Dum passing the crossing of New Shambazar Street heard an explosion. On arrival at destination the driver discovered a dent on his radiator.

XXX XXX XXX

In front of premises 92/3, New Shambazar street the remains of a "Jute Bomb" were found. Further North (200 yards) similar bomb fragments were discovered so that there must have been two attempts. In the evening some carters of the Chetla siding of the Calcutta Port Commissioners attacked four sepoys, chased them up to their guard and pelted stones at them. In self-defence a sepoy fired some shots whereupon the rioters dispersed. Nobody with gun shot wounds has been traced.

Attempts were made to set fire to the 'Metro' and the 'Light House'. In both places the miscreants used rubber pellets containing phosphorus.

XXX XXX XXX

Among papers which were prominent during 1942 Movement were "Vanguard of Freedom", "Beware" brought out

by Rati Kanta Sarkar, "Sangram" by Bipen Ganguli and "Jyotish Bhaumik", "Biplab Deerghajibi Howk" (Long Live Revolution) by Haridas Ghosh.

———— ·X· ————

40

Bihar Women lead the Revolt

F.24/Cong/42-V August 23, 1942

In reply to the querries from Ahmed, C.I.O. I.B.H.B., New Delhi, Bihar reported that the instructions said to have been issued by the All-India Congress Committee have not been in circulation in Bihar. Ahmed commented "This is odd that in Bihar where C.S.P. and Ram Nandan Misra have been most active in organising support for the Congress Movement and where sabotage on an extensive scale has occurred, these instructions should not have found their way, is most surprising.

The Marhatti edition of the Harijan dated 23.8.42 contained the following passage "Non-violence permits cutting and disorganising of communications. Bringing about strikes is the best of all activities and if successful, will have a very great effect. Cutting of telegraph wires, removing of rails, destroying of small bridges and burning of patrol tanks, all these things are permissible in the present movement. We would have been required to do that in the event of a Japanese invasion. Non-violent anarchists should regard British as the Axis and should undertake the same activities against the British as they would take against the Axis.

C.I.D. reports from Bihar dated 3.9.42 reports that Congressmen have been quite active in leading attacks on police stations as for example Bignesar Missir a leading member of the District Congress Committee Gaya was prominent in the mob which attacked Arwal p.s., and Jaglal Choudhari Pasi, ex-Minister instigated a mob to burn the police station at Garkha. However, the report mentions "with characteristic cowardice these instigators have usually managed to keep out of the front line and have held others to be killed and wounded when firing was opened." He quotes an instance from Purnea where on the 27th August during an attack

by rioters mob including Santals, the chief Congress leader in the district who is helped to plan it, approached a police sub-inspector and gave himself up.

Another report dated 10.9.42 for Bihar refers to the attack made on Bahera p.s. Darbhanga which took place on the 19th August, "The Congress volunteers using ban and slogans etc. came from Congress Ashram which is ¼th mile north of the p.s. on Behara-Sakri Road some of them got up on the Thana Veranda. The wife of Charitar Singh of Kharari was leading them. She dashed one of the doors and broke it open; on seeing this others did the same. My men who were with me (i.e. gentries who were on my side requested them not to do so, but they did not hear. The females said that the males are namard. They should burn the thana and shoot the officers. She took out her revolver and the only brother of Gopal G. Choudhari also took out a revolver from his pocket."

———— ·X· ————

41

Underground Activities of Jugal Kishore Khanna

F.24/Cong/42-V August 24,1942

Jugal Kishore Khanna, according to a secret letter dated August 24,1942 from C.I.O. Lahore to the Asstt. Director Police, I.P.H.D. New Delhi, a member of the AICC is reported to be the leading personality who is underground directing the Congress agitation and is being assisted by Dr.M.L.Gujral in whose flat a loud speaker has been quietly installed. Through this loud speaker the public is urged to be prepared for the coming struggle. A letter marked secret and personal from C.I.O. Patna to D.I.P. New Delhi reads "a number of dangerous C.S.P. and other left-wingers escaped and went underground to be joined spiritually if by certain royists and minor communists. They, aided perhaps by the older revolutionaries and hitherto unsuspected talent provided a brain trust for the sabotage of communications. It may have become the fashion later for disgruntled railway personnel and ordinary village gundas to join in the removal of rails etc. in order to hamper relief and punitive expeditions. This stage reminiscent of Irish Republican Army operations, it

seems possible that dilettanti like Prof.Gyan Saha of the Patna University often stating tactics of Dan Brenne and his turbulent Irish patriots.

———— ·X· ————

42
Jinnah's Instructions to His Followers in Case of British Defeat

F.24/Cong/42-VIII August 24, 1942

That the same ideas were being entertained in Muslim League circles may be seen by a reference to the statement of my agent C.B. 29 dated 24-8-42 in which certain provincial League leaders described the proceedings of the Working Committee which had been held at Bombay during the month. In this statement it was reported that the main item discussed was the possibility of the collapse of the Central Government following a Japanese invasion and what plan the Muslim League should adopt in such an eventuality. Jinnah's suggestion was that in the Muslim majority provinces they should be prepared to hoist the Muslim League flag and capture power from the Hindus. Invasion by the Japanese would be a signal for the fight with the Hindus rather than with the Japanese who would naturally place the stronger party in power. This information was based on a report of the Superintendent of Police, Chittagong who said he had learnt from a reliable quarter that Dr.Prafulla Ghose and Miss Perin Berucha had visited Chittagong and delivered this message from Mr. Gandhi to Nalinidas." The letter concludes with the observation that "though there is no corroboration that the information came directly from Gandhi the nature of information and the fact that it was said to have been delivered by a member of the working committee well-known for his attachment to Gandhi includes me to the belief that the information is true."

———— ·X· ————

43
Santiniketan Students Join the Movement

F.28/Cong/42-A-I August 25, 1942

(Extract from C.I.O. Calcutta Report No.C.B.I. dated 30-8-42).

The younger section of the teaching staff and all the adult students, both boys and girls of Santi Niketan have joined the movement. The number of students involved is 200 or thereabouts. The school and college have been closed for three months with the approval of Rabindra Nath Tagore. This is an independent movement undertaken by Tagore, who it is said, had already pledged his support to Mr.Gandhi during his Wardha visit. This gesture is a natural sequence of the recent contribution of Rs.5,00,000/- made by Mr.Gandhi to the Biswa-Bharati Funds, of which both himself and Jawaharlal Nehru are life trustees.

The students have since divided themselves into groups and enlisted Santhals for acts of sabotage. These groups have spread throughout the district of Birbhum and are about to commit serious mischief to railway lines, bridges, telegraph wire etc.

———— ·X· ————

44
Rajendra Prasad Indicates Open Rebellion

F.28/Cong./42-B-IV August 25, 1942

There is another note in this file prepared on Congress instigation to sabotage and violence dated 25-8-42. It has a marginal heading "Indication of personal responsibilities of Gandhi". It alludes to a speech of Rajendra Prasad at a meeting of the Working Committee of Provincial Congress Committee at Patna on July 21-22 after he had visited Gandhi at Wardha. Rajendra Prasad is reported to have said that Gandhi was determined to launch a Movement which would take the form of general defiance of the law and of the authority of the Government. On the 27th July, Rajendra Prasad alluding to

the broadcast of Cripps said that it would make Gandhi more desperate than ever and that the contemplated Movement would be to all intents and purposes an open rebellion. Gandhi, according to a speech of Rajendra Prasad on July 31st, was convinced of a Japanese invasion of India in which case India would meet the same fate as Burma and Malaya. If Indians had to perish, it would be better if they do so in defence of their country's freedom. Gandhi, therefore, wanted an open rebellion and had great hope of response from the villagers. During May Ramnandan Mishra, a prominent member of the C.S.P.,was especially called by Gandhi to Wardha and he toured Bihar and Madras immediately afterwards evidently as a secret emissary of Gandhi. Recent information indicates that in the course of this tour he distributed a leaflet called 'India Declares War' which despite reference to non-violence is clearly intended as an incitement to violence. Then it makes a reference to various bulletins issued by the Congress and the speeches made by local Congress leaders. It also refers in the slogan of the Congress leaders"Anarchy is better than slavery". Some of these attacks were led by or instigated by local Congressmen as Jagat Narain Lal, Chakradhar Saran, Secretary of Rajendra Prasad supplied food and water to hooligans responsible for the damage to Kadamkuan, Shyamnandan Singh instigated the attack at Bihta, Sheoshankar Singh instigated the mob at Monghyr on August 13 to take possession of Treasury, Post Offices and Police Station etc.

———— ·X· ————

45

Dr.Bhubaneswar Barua to act as 'Dictator' for Assam

F.28/Cong/42-A-I August 25, 1942

Dr. Bhubaneswar Barua will act as the dictator of the Assam Provincial Congress advised by Hem Chandra Barua.

Lakeshidhar Bora has drawn up a list of workers in consultation with his assistant Rabindra Nath Nabis,to be placed in charge of the work at different centres in Gauhati. Jogendra Bhattacharjee has been placed in charge of Gauhati Centre, Ram Narayan Kuar in charge

of Chaigaon, Hareswar Sarma in charge of Boko, Dr.Keshab Chandra Das in charge of Tihu and Hajali, Hari Pattak and Keshab Deka in charge of Nalbari, Priya Nath Sarma in charge of Rangia and Keshab Chandra Barua and Ananta Ram Malakar in charge of Sual Kuchi and Jajo.

Mahendra Chaudhury, B.L., Kameswar Das, M.L.A.,Mohan Chandra Chaudhury and Golak Chandra Pathak have been carrying on propaganda in the interior of Barpet sub-division to induce the villagers not to sell even a piece of bamboo for the purpose of the aerodrome at Sorbhog. Manik Chandra Das, Prabhat Chandra Baisya Saud, Narayan Chandra Das, Debendra Kalita and many other student workers of Sual Kuchi scared away the boatmen of Sual Kuchi who intended to carry materials for Sorbhog aerodrome with threats of damage to their boats.

———— ·X· ————

46

Dhenkanal People's Agitation

F.28/Cong/42-O August 26, 1942

The Dhenkanal of Baji Rout has again awakened. The Dhenkanal have awakened to do away with the despotic rule of the Durbar,the agency of the British Government. On 26th August 19youths under the leadership of Baishnab Charan Patnaik reached Marhi sub-division, raided the police station, put the police officers in the hazat, took possession of the magazine and set fire to the thana. Thousands of villagers collected at the shouting of slogans. They appealed to the magistrate and other officers to surrender. They professed that it was not their intention to do any harm to anybody's life and property except the keystations of the Durbar. All officials including the magistrate fled away. The court and other offices located there were burnt along with the papers amidst songs. Papers in 14 'Bisas' (police-stations) were burnt here. Those papers were of three carloads. Certain police officers tendered resignation. The mob hoisted the flag of victory, captured a state paddy store located at a distance of about 2 miles and the neighbouring villagers distributed among themselves about 10 thousand 'Bharans' of paddy. The Raj Durbar could not do anything owing to

want of prompt aid from its father British Government. The Panchayat system of administration was set up at places. On the 2nd when Chandpur police station was raided, the officers fled away out of fear. After setting fire to the thana while the mob was advancing towards Parjang, Punjabi soldiers came surreptitiously through jungle and charged lathi on the processionists from behind. This was an occurrence on the 4th September. There was a skirmish between both the parties and there was firing. The leader Baishnab Charan Patnaik sustained a bullet wound on his hand and fell down unconscious. The number of casulties is not known. The mob dispersed. A reward of Rs.1000/-for the arrest of Baishnab Babu has been declared on behalf of the State. There is no trace of him. Bravo! Baishnab. Let all youths follow his example.

———— ·X· ————

Report of Deputy Director, Intelligence, Peshawar: Instructions for Abdul Ghaffar Khan

F.24/Cong/42-V August 27, 1942

We find from a letter from the Deputy Director, Intelligence Peshawar, to the Deputy Director Administration I.H.H.D., New Delhi that the instructions purporting to have emanated from the All-India Congress Committee were brought by Mohan Lal Saxena when he visited this province recently. Abdul Ghaffar Khan also received instructions from one Khurshaid of Bombay the contents of whose letters are "I trust you have received all the instructions on behalf of the all-India Congress Committee. The Committee programme has been sent to you and we trust you will put into effect as will be successful in your province." The writer has also mentioned the name of Amtul Salam(an inmate of Sewagram Aşhram - according to the C.I.D. comment)and Mridula (Sarabhai) and he said was with him. C.I.D. comment (the date of Khurshaid Ben's letter) might have been a significance. The 'we' in her letter shows that she has taken a more prominent part in the dratt C.S.P. circular. Please see in this connection pages 217 and 228/C of her p.f. She was drifted towards re-

volutionary ideas since 1939 and in April, 1942 when Gandhi propounded his present programme, she seems to have jumped into it with a splash".

There is a circular entitled "declaration of independence" issued by the Markaz-i-ala Sardaryab asked the Pathans to side with Congress in the present struggle and take part in the fight of Civil Disobedience patiently and non-violently. It contains usual instructions which are said to have been handed over to Mr.Shastri, M.L.A.Azamgarh of U.P. by Abdul Ghaffar Khan who instructions to the Congressites in all the provinces who had approached him for advice after the arrest of Congress leaders (1) Meetings and processions and broadcast Congress programme (2) Every province who declared itself independent on a fixed date (3) Paralyse the government machinery (4) after the declaration of independence instructions be issued in each province according to circumstances (5) programme in its various phases to be terminated by September. (6) In this province (NWFP) we are going to make a declaration of independence very shortly and afterwards we will take steps to occupy office of different departments. The letter is signed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and is dated 27.8.42.

———— ·X· ————

48

Activities of Leaders of Kanpur Congress

F.24/Cong/42-V August 27, 1942

An extract from C.I.O. Lucknow report dated 27.8.42 quotes a Congress worker as saying that the Kanpur Congress has been divided into three groups - Ganpat Rai Saxena is the secret dictator, Ishwar Chandar of Nangraha who has a gramudyog shop in Manniram Baghia is in-charge of the organisation of demonstrations,processions and meetings, Ram Dularey Trivedi of the Partap Press is in-charge of terrorist activities i.e. wire cutting, destruction of railway lines, raids of police station and government buildings etc.,Deo Dutt Sharma of the Sharma Printing Works is in-charge of publicity - all these workers are underground. It has also reference

to a war council consisting of Oma Shankar, Sheo Shankar, Ishwar Chand and Hamid.

———— ·X· ————

49

C.R.B. Murray, D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar on the Progress of Movement in the Province

F.28/Cong./42-B-IV August 28, 1942

A report dated August 28, 1942 reports that the situation in the town have improved but rural areas especially North Bihar are extremely in a disturbed condition. A number of outlying police stations in both North and South Bihar have been temporarily abandoned and the stocks concentrated at others situated on important roads or rail communication. Most loot has been recovered and many arrests made in the course of a combined military raid on Bhita on the 19th August. There have been recoveries of ammunition magazines in and around Mokomeh where the mob which burnt the railway station, looted a goods train containing military stores. A villager in Nobatpur was murdered on the 22nd August by eight fellow villagers, all Congress workers who had unsuccessfully tried to intimidate him and his father into inducing deceased brother who is serving in the army to abandon his service. Fatwa was visited by a military and police party which arrested 13 persons suspected to have been concerned in the murder of 2 Canadian R.A.F. Officers on the 13th August. A collective fine of Rs.2,00,000 have been imposed. Situation at Gaya, Shahabad and Patna is quite too far from normal in the interior where crowds armed with lathis, spears, swords and daggers are constantly on the move looking for opportunities to loot and sabotage. Local Congressmen are also moving about trying to collect guns and are reported to have in their possession 700 rounds of 12 bore ammunition. Many road bridges have been demolished including the Ratwar Bridge between Bhadua and the G.T. Road which was blown up with gun powder. During a march from Dumraon to Buxer a combined force of troops and an M.P. met with much opposition and had to fire several times killing 17 persons and wounding 7. At Muzaffarpur, many police stations and other Government buildings have been attacked, looted and burnt and others occupied. The Sita Marhi Sub Division is particularly in a disturbed state and also officers from all

outlined Thanas have had to be concentrated at Sita Marhi. According to an unconfirmed report, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Sita Marhi, a sub-constable of police, two constables and a chaprasi were all killed while on their way to Pupri in the Jaji Pur Sub Division. Prominent Congressmen who escaped from Haji Pur Sub jail when the gates were broken open by the mob on the 15th August are moving about the interior inciting villagers to commit loot and sabotage. Superintendent of Police reports that there have been so far no efforts by influential persons in the district to utter a word in condemnation of mob violence. They have been content to sit back and play the part of sight-seers.

Saran:

The British Officers and four men who were killed at Marhowrah had gone out on a private call driven by an Anglo-Indian employee of a factory to disperse a meeting. They were, however, attacked by armed men who had been lying in ambush in sugarcane crops on each side of the road and overwhelmed before they could make use of their fire arms. The situation in this district is still very disturbed and in military opinion, mobs in this district are more determined than South of the river and they have done more damage to communications.

Champaran:

Income Tax Office records and recruiting office were set fire to. Europeans in outlying factories have been brought in and collected at convenient centres.

Bhagalpur:

On the 11th August a determined effort to capture the District Congress in Bhagalpur was held of with difficulty. On the 13th a detachment of the armed fleet at Naugachhia had to fire on a mob which had surrounded them on their way to railway station... the Congress Ashram which they had seized ..... evacuated. The crowd did not disperse ... the party seized 6 muskets and ... ammunition. After a detachment of military ... been sent to Naugachhia ... restore order and stop interference with the railway, the situation in Bhagalpur town deteriorated and goondas prevail. Nathnagar Silk Institute was looted, police were nearly overwhelmed in try-

ing to disperse meeting at Lajpat Park and fire had to be opened three times on crowds looting goods sheds and wagons at the local railway station. It was finally decided to recall outlying police detachment and concentrate them at Bhagalpur. The withdrawal from Sabour was followed by the looting of Government farm and the Agricultural Institute. The departure of the police from Behpur encouraged the mob to loot and set fire to railway stations and goods sheds. During the withdrawal of C.T.S. recruits from Nathnagar, 145 deserted. The situation, however, eased with the arrival of the military enforcement on the 19th and 20th. One such patrol opened fire near Sultanganj killing 10. Conditions in the Supaul and Madhepura Sub Division are reported to be extremely bad with no assemblance of law and order.

Monghyr:

The prisoners in the Begusarai sub-jail escaped through the negligence of a warder. Several police sations and most of the railway stations in the North of the district have been destroyed and many goods trains looted. Several times the police had to open fire on the mob engaged in wrecking railway stations. An aeroplane thought to be a bomber recently crashed in flood water near the railway station and dead-body of a British Officer was found a mile away. It is rumoured in the locality that 2 members of crew who were not killed when the aeroplane crashed were beaten to death by the crowd. In the portion of the district south of the river the situation is outwardly quieter though there have been much damage to roads and railways and police stations.

Purnea:

The general situation has deteriorated. Control have been maintained in districts and sub-divisional headquarters but there is much lawlessness in the interior of the district.

Santhal Parganas:

Congressmen are leading and inciting Santhals and Paharias who have burnt Mahagama Police Station and post office. Post office at Jaidh was attacked and burnt.

Prisoners being escorted from Madupur to Dhunka were rescued by a mob and the tyres of the lorry in which they were being carried out into pieces.

Ranchi:

Apart from one or two instances, a rowdy demonstration outside the Ranchi Jail assaulted on the warder, cutting of telephone wire and pelting of stones on the police, the district have remained comparatively quiet. In the interior of the District Tana Bhagats have made half-hearted attempt to recapture a Congress office in Mandar Police Station and to occupy Bishun Pur Police Station but were driven off without difficulty.

Hazaribagh:

Koderama Railway Station was set fire to on the 15th August and on the 16th a mob again attacked the station and the post office at Tilaiya, destroyed furniture and records and set fire to the buildings. A police party was also attacked at Domchanch.

Palamau:

Situation is far from satisfactory. Most of the leaders including revolutionaries are at large and are doing underground work in the interior. There have been two derailments, one near Jalpa on the 17th August and one between Jamalpur and Monghyr on the 19th. On the 14th an attempt was made to wreck the Matkuria Bridge on the Dhanbad Katrasgarh line by explosive.

Sahajanand Group of the Kisan Sabha defines their attitude towards the Congress Movement. It protested against the repressive policy of the Government and called on Kisans to organise peaceful demonstration provided procession licenses are applied for and nothing is done which is contrary to Government orders. It criticises the Congress for handing the country to goondaism and arson.

Workmen of the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Jamshedpur struck work on the 20th August and most of the departments were closed by evening in many cases at the instance of the foremen themselves. Workmen and students posted themselves near the gates of important cross roads in the town and dissuaded the workers from atten-

ding the mills. By next morning the production had totally ceased. The strike was immediately followed by a large exodus from the town owing to a rumour that there would be a strike on B.N.Rly. on the 24th August. The sweepers have also gone on strike. The strikers have no grievances against the Company but have struck work against the action taken by the Government against the Congress leaders. There are strong rumours that the Director and management themselves are behind the strike owing to certain grievances against Government and sympathy with Congress. It is considered possible that following this example the workmen of Tata collieries in Dhanbad will also cease their work after receiving their bonus the date of which has been postponed to 10th Sept.

———— ·X· ————

50

A.A. Russell to Ruler of Kotah advising him not to Surrender to Praja Parishad

F.6/IS/42-II August 28, 1942

My dear Maharao Sahib,

The Praja Parishad here are proclaiming language in Kotah, the Darbar has been forced to agree to release the detainees arrested on the 13th August and to introduce responsible government and that the Inspector-General of Police has been told to take leave pending retirement. I cannot believe that there is trust in these rumours. Quite apart from the most emphatic advice that I gave to Your Highness in Kotah that any such surrender would be disastrous, there is the danger that it would cause most serious repercussions throughout Rajputana and beyond. I have not heard from Your Highness whether you propose to ask for the return of a company of the Umed Infantry as you contemplated. I am off on six weeks leave tomorrow. So would you be so good as to inform Major Poulton of the position.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- A.A. Russell.

His Highness Maharao Bhim Singhji Bahadur,
Maharao of Kotah.

———— ·X· ————

51

Sabotage and Violence in Bihar

F.24/Cong./42-V August 28, 1942

There is another note in this file prepared on Congress instigation to sabotage and violence dated 25.8.42. It has a marginal heading "Indication of personal responsibilities of Gandhi". It alludes to a speech of Rajendra Prasad at a meeting of the Working Committee of Provincial Congress Committee at Patna on July 21-22 after he had visited Gandhi at Wardha. Rajendra Prasad is reported to have said that Gandhi was determined to launch a Movement which would take the form of general difiance of the law and of the authority of the Government. On the 27th July, Rajendra Prasad alluding to the broadcast of Cripps said that it would make Gandhi more desperate than ever and that the contemplated Movement would be to all intents and purposes an open rebellion. Gandhi, according to a speech of Rajendra Prasad on July 31st, was convinced of a Japanese invasion of India in which case India would meet the same fate as Burma and Malaya. If Indians had to perish, it would be better if they do so in defence of their country's freedom. Gandhi, therefore, wanted an open rebellion and had great hope of response from the villagers. During May Ramnandan Misra, a prominent member of the C.S.P. was especially called by Gandhi to wardha and he toured Bihar and Madras immediately afterwards evidently as a secret emissary of Gandhi. Recent information indicates that in the course of this tour he distributed a leaflet called 'India Declares War' which despite reference to non-violence is clearly intended as an incitement to violence. Then it makes a reference to various bulletine issued by the Congress and the speeches made by local Congress leaders. It also refers to the slogan of the Congress leaders 'Anarchy is better than Slavery'. Some of these attacks were led by or instigated by local Congressmen as Jagat Narain Lal. Chakradhar Saran, Secretary of Rajindra Prasad supplied food and water to hooligans responsible

for the damage to Kadamkuan, Shyamnandan Singh instigated the attack at Bihta, Sheoshankar singh instigated the mob at Monghyr on August 13 to take possession of Treasury, Post Offices and Police Station, etc.

———— ·X· ————

52

Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana

F.6/IS/42-II August 29, 1942

M. Worth, Secretary to the Hon'ble Resident for Rajputana reports in his confidential letter to Polindia, New Delhi dated Camp, Ajmer, August 29, 1942, regarding the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement that since 9th August, the situation in Rajputana has been fairly quiet. In Jaipur, students went on strike but were pursuaded to return. Students at Pilani also went on strike. In Jodhpur, police had to make mild lathi charges; in Bharatpur, there was a partial hartal on August 10th but on 14th August there was a complete hartal, students absented from colleages, public meetings and demonstrations were organised by the Praja Parishad workers. However, no attempt to use violence. In Udaipur, minor student demonstration, 150 persons were arrested.

The fortnightly report of Rajputana Agency for the fortnight ending September 15, 1942, refers to the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires between Kumber and Bharatpur, a disorderly demonstration in the city on September 2 in which over 4,000 people headed by 5 women took part. On 3rd September hand-written posters in Hindi exhorted the use of right to overthrow the tyrannical government by cutting telegraph wires, burning post offices, Government buildings etc. were found pasted. As regards Jodhpur the report adds that the disturbances in British India and Indian States gathered from all India enemy wireless broadcast from students who returned from British India continued to keep up the excitment and anti-British sentiment. Copies of the pamphlets directing the people as already noted were freely distributed. Copy of an express letter dated September 16, 1942, from Rajputana reports demonstration in Beayana on September 2, where in the absence of the Nazims, one of the mob held a mock

trial in the Nizam's court. It also refers to the speeches made in Jaipur, dissuading men from enlisting in the army or giving any contributions to the war fund.

———— ·X· ————

53

Detention for Ram Nandan Misra

F.24/Cong./42-V August 30, 1942

There is a letter from J.P.W. Johnston, Bihar Special Branch, C.I.D. to F.H.C. Raynor, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Orissa August 30, 1942 requesting the latter to detain Ram Nandan Misra who has played an all-India part in the activities of the C.S.P. acting on instructions from Mehar Ally tours in Madras and Bihar were ascribed to him. He was also responsible to make over copies of the secret Congress plan of campaign; possibly he was the successor of Mehar Ally.

———— ·X· ————

54

Ram Nandan Misra's Role in Congress Socialist Party

F.24/Cong/42-V August 30, 1942

Regarding the activities of Ram Nandan Misra there is a confidential letter from J.P.W. Johnston, Bihar Special Branch, C.I.D. Patna dated August 30, 1942 to F.H.C. Raynor, D.I.G. Police Orissa, Cuttack, an extract from which reads: since his release from jail in the last week of May Ram Nandan has played an all-India part in the activities of the C.S.P. acting apparently on instructions from Mehar Ally whom he met at the Badaul (Muzaffarpur) Kisan Sabha meeting early in June. He proceeded from there to Wardha and then did a long tour in Madras returning to Jharia on the 27th July where he then made over the copies of the then secret Congress plan of campaign. This has not been openly stated by P.Chavan at a public meeting in Jharia on the 14th August. Thereafter he paid brief visits to Ranchi at Patna and left for Bombay to attend the AICC

meeting. It appears that for some time he has been going on as a special Congress courier in Madras, Bihar and Orissa. It has been ascertained that from 9th August, Ram Nandan was chosen to replace one of the arrested all-India leaders possibly Mehar Ally. Another source informed the A.C.I.O. that S.K. Basu is said to be the Congress dictator in Banaras and ascribed the preparation of leaflets to one Raghunath Singh, Secretary of the Town Congress Committee, Banaras. Girl students are said to be working in villages near Banaras under the leadership of one Snehlata.

———— ·X· ————

55

Congress Workers in Assam Advised to Harass Government by Violent or Non-Violent Means

F.28/Cong/42-A-I August 30, 1942

Congress leaders are touring in the interior extensively and addressing meetings. They are telling the villagers that the no-rent campaign and breaking of forest laws will commence from December next, but in the meantime the following programme is to be followed:-

1. Hats and ferries are to be closed.
2. Sale of such articles as thatch, bamboo, timber, etc. to Military contractors is to cease.
3. Workmen are to be prevented from working for the Military.
4. All Government servants are to be ostracised.
5. Supply of foodstuffs to Railway gangmen and mistries working under the Telegraph Department should be stopped.

Congress workers are secretly advised to adopt all possible means, violent or non-violent to harass the Government. Congress, they say, will not object to the adoption of violent means now.

In this connection Hem Chandra Barua, Dr.Bhubaneswar Barua, Rabindra Nath Nabis and Umesh Chandra Chaudhury have taken the lead.

These people distribute bulletins among the Punjabi, Madrassi and Up-country soldiers, some of whom show interest in the bulletins and take large numbers of them for distribution among their colleagues. A section of these soldiers has been posted near the Congress and Santi Sena offices, Gauhati. The Gurkha and Muslim soldiers, however, have not, so far, accepted the bulletins. They generally keep away from these people.

56

Revolutionary Activities in U.P. (Extract) - Communists' Dilemma

F.24/Cong/42-V August 31, 1942

(Extracts from brief note on subversive activity for the fortnight ending August 31,1942)

xxx xxx xxx

In the early absence of detailed instructions and a definite schedule from the centre, spontaneous demonstrations and outbreaks of rowdyism by students in towns occurred, and were perhaps not sufficiently sternly dealt with in some districts. Sabotage on systems of communication and attacks on government buildings soon followed and this necessitated firm action, which soon restored order in urban area. By this time instructions had however arrived from Bombay and, partly in compliance with these, and partly in furtherance of previously well laid plans, the underground Congress organisers, and students sent out from the universities, embarked on a campaign of sabotage in the rural areas, the main idea of which was to interrupt communications, to capture tehsils and thanas, wean government officials from their loyalty and then attack the headquarter towns. Wherever firm resistance was offered to mobs or determined action taken by district authorities lawlessness on any serious scale was soon suppressed, and at no time was the administration seriously threatened anywhere except in a few of the Eastern districts, notably Ballia and Ghazipur. Among the reasons for the swift deterioration in Eastern districts are the

proximity of the Benares Hindu University, from which batches of students were despatched for sabotage in all directions, the long continued existence of terrorist cells with Bengal and Bihar connections,the proximity of the Bihar where disturbances were on a wide scale, the comparative scarcity of troops and cantonment stations and possibly, the drying up of a lucrative income from Burma and the East. Communications were cut and remained cut for some time and this, added to the long continued prediction by Congress speakers of a breakdown of law and order, deluded the ignorant kisans into believing that the Raj was ended and the time for loot arrived. The prompt despatch of troops and Police soon disabused the people of this idea, and the use of the various ordinances combined with this evidence of the continued existence and strength of the government to bring about a sense of collective responsibility and produce offers of assistance in maintaining order. Terrorists and criminals profited by the disturbances and a number of bomb cases and armed dacoities have occured. The rounding up of Congress organisers in hiding proceeds satisfactorily and steps have been taken to locate students who may still be at large causing trouble. It remains to check any outbreak of terrorism or of crime masquerading as political activity, and to end the vicious leaflet campaign now in full swing from outside the province as well as in most of the big districts.

At the moment the province is practically entirely quiet.

xxx xxx xxx

Magisterial and Police morale, with few exceptions, remained extremely good in the face of a strenuous campaign to weam them from their allegiance. It is devoutly to be hoped that there will be no more talk until the war is over of any appeasement or compromise with the Congress, which stands convicted as an openly fifth column organisation of the worst possible kind.

Labour remained steady throughout and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to do so.

xxx xxx xxx

The Muslim League has remained strictly aloof, the Ahrars have followed suit, the Khaksars have been inconspicuous, while attempts by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema to stir up enthusiasm for participation in the "Movement" have merely served to emphasise their lack of a following.

xxx xxx xxx

II. REVOLUTIONARY AND TERRORIST ACTIVITY

From the outset the Congress campaign assumed the form of terrorism by sabotage, murder and loot.

xxx xxx xxx

In the early days of mob violence it was difficult to distinguish between uncoordinated outbreaks of frenzy finding expression in pure terrorism and possible planned sabotage organised by professional terrorists.

xxx xxx xxx

There has been, for instance, a considerable number of bomb cases, aimed both at inflicting, bodily injury and also at causing damage in government factories, while incitement to murder now forms one of the main slogans in much of the leaflet output. It is significant also that the East of the province, and those districts which have for long been most affected by the recent disturbances, while there is some reason to suppose that another main breeding ground for terrorists, Agra, may be the organisational centre for much of the sabotage by bomb, wire cutting and derailment, which has taken place in the West-Central area of the U.P.

xxx xxx xxx

Bombs have been thrown in two places in Farrukhabad, in three places at Agra, in Lucknow, Hardoi, Moradabad, and Cawnpore, while a regular bomb factory was discovered in Bulandshahr, seven charged bombs and a mass of material being found. In no case was any great damage done and phosphorous bombs in government factories in Agra and Cawnpore were quickly discovered. Enquiry into all these cases is in progress, but there is no

doubt that Prem Datt Paliwal and the members of the old gang of Baccha Babu alias Kamta Prasad have been active. Prior to the movement information from different sources indicated that training in terrorism and the use of arms was in progress in the U.P. under Congress auspices, and particularly in Agra. The capture of 10 youths in the Muttra district, including two known revolutionaries, Nekram and Bengalimal, all coming from Agra, from whom wirecutting implments and considerable sums of money were recovered, further points to Agra as a centre for sabotage. It is interesting also that many of these 10 had some scientific training.

xxx xxx xxx

One Sant Kumar Pande of Fatehpur stole a.450 revolver from an Excise Inspector but was caught. He is an associate of the revolutionary Ram Narain Azad of Farrukhabad, and members of this gang are suspected in the two bomb cases of that district. In the Lucknow bomb case the complicity of one Ram Nakehatra Tripathi, a resident of the Gorakhpur district, is practically established. A search of his house revealed his contacts with Manmohan Gupta, alias Subli, of the Bhusawal bomb outrage and Sachindra Nath Sanyal, the notorious revolutionary who was released on ground of health. Arrests have also been made in the Agra bomb affair. From correspondence intercapted it is clear that sabotage in the mills and the Power House at Cawnpore is being planned by the C.S.P., and Ram Singh is badly wanted in this connection. The arrest in Allahabad of one Masuria Din, a Forward Bloc member, frustrated his attempts to secure arms and ammunition for terrorist organisation in the Shankergarh area. Enquiries are also in progress regarding the efforts of an anarchist named Girish chandra Bose who is active in student circles in Allahabad, regarding Mathura Prasad in Dehra dun, concerned in the Cawnpore-Dehra Dun conspiracy case and now responsible for the distribution of cyclostyled notices issued by the "Inqalab Party Delhi", and regarding the appearance of the leaflet "Ran Bheri", the organ of the H.S.RA.A. group of Rajdeo Singh, and now appearing from Benares. A mass of violently revolutionary leaflets has been seen but these two would appear to emanate from regular terrorist parties.

It has now been clearly established that the detrailment of some months ago at Matlabpur in the Moradabad district was the work of a criminal gang whose intention was to loot the passengers. They were debarred from doing so because the derailment was not complete and some Europeans were on the train. Arrests have been made, but this would appear to be an imitation of the Hur example in Sind, an example which may also have been emulated by many of the Congress saboteurs.

It is unfortunate that the Sessions Judge of Aligarh has acquitted the case under 399 I.P.C. in which Kesho Pande and Kashi Nath were concerned, but these two received three years each under the Arms Act.

Jogesh Chandra Chatterji is still at large, as also are some of the outstanding members of the H.S.R.A. gang of Eastern districts concerned in the Sahjanwa dacoity.

After the events of the past three weeks an outbreak of terrorist activity must be expected, while purely criminal elements will inevitably increase their depredations and use the poltical movement as a cloak. The number of dangerous and capable terrorists at large however is very small indeed and it is matter for satisfaction that practically none of these gentry received clemency at the hands of Government.

xxx xxx xxx

III. COMMUNISTS:

As was to be expected the communists' attempt to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds led to some minor defections from their own party and also to the unpopularity of their present policy among Congress sympathisers.

xxx xxx xxx

The communists as a party count for little at the moment. Their impossible two-faced programme tends to alienate support still further. They must support Congress and revile the government, and they may be driven at any moment to change their policy in respect of keeping labour at its job. In the meantime a warning to Joshi seems necessary.

IV. LABOUR:

Except for a few instances where labourers were induced to participate in demonstrations in the early days of the movement and some instances of short-lived cessation of work on aerodromes in the worst area of the East, labour has remained most gratifyingly steady throughout.

xxx xxx xxx

V. THE RURAL AREAS:

In amplification of the reasons advanced in the last report for the widespread commission of sabotage and loot in the rural areas further diagnosis suggests that the basic cause was the evil effects of the campaign of calumny and vilification which the Congress had carried on in the country since their release from jail nearly a year ago, and particularly their continually stressed insistence that the British Raj was about to end and that the reign of loot and dacoity would soon appear. Kisans cared nothing for the war or for Gandhi. They had a good rabi and good kharif prospects. Having heard the insidious propaganda of the Congress for over nine months however, apparently until very recently unchecked and unrefuted they naturally believed that the predicted breakdown of the administration had come about when Congress agitators and students rowdies arrived to tell them so after a period of some days of interrupted communications, and when the agitators set an example of sabotage and loot. With the restoration of communications and the arrival of Police and military the deluded kisans immediately came to senses, and there has been evident in every part of the province a strong desire to cooperate with the authorities in putting a stop to senseless sabotage. This process has been markedly quickened by the imposition of collective lines and the enforcement of collective responsibility, but the public generally are now awake to the personal inconvenience, loss and danger of the campaign of sabotage and loot.

The kisans have now completely come to their senses and have been taught a sharp lesson in those areas where conditions were particularly bad, in the Ballia, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur districts.

It would however be entirely incorrect to assume that the widespread and somewhat unexpected sabotage outside the towns was due to any widespread or general anti-government feeling among kisans or sympathy with Gandhi and the Congress. The explanation lies entirely in the license given to agitators to Verify the govern-ment and the British over so long a period that they were able to dupe the simple farmers into thinking their predictions had come true, simply because commu-nications were cut for a number of days.

———— ·X· ————

57
Agitation in Rajputana States

F.6/18/42-II August 31, 1942

Jodhpur

The Lok Parishad agitation continues to receive little support from the public and the meetings and pheries attract small attention. No arrests have been made by the Jodhpur government during the period under report and the agitators who feel depressed at the attitude of the authorities are planning to start a 'No Talks Campaign' in the hope of enlisting the sym-pathies of the Kisans. They are also attempting to get support from students and labourers but although there was a demonstration on August 10 by students from the college and various schools on account of the arrest of communist leader, they failed to persuade the boys of Darbar High School to join them and the following day the students rejoined their classes.

In connection with the Civil Disobedience Campaign the Bharatpur Government have arrested and retained Reoti Sharan, President, Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi and five other Praja Parishad workers.

Kotah

Following the arrest of Congress leaders on the 13th, there were serious disturbances in Kotah city on the 14th August. The telegraph lines near the head post office in the city were cut. Firing had to be resorted

to by the police, a number of persons were besieged in the kotwali but no one was killed or seriously injured. Troops were called out but before they reached the scene, the mob was induced by Apji Onkar Singh, uncle of His Highness and late Dewan to dispurse and the situation is quiet now.

Sirohi

The Praja Mandal workers of Udaipur have inquired from the other Praja Mandals in the State how many members are prepared to offer Satyagraha and have also invited a conference on 21st and 22nd August to decide the future course of action. Following the news of the arrest of congress leaders, processions of students passed through the town of Udaipur on the 9th and 11th August shouting slogans but there were no disturbances.

The fortnightly intelligence report of Rajputana States in the first half of 1942 refers to the hartals in Jaipur, Palanpur, Sirohi and Udaipur. In most of the cases Hindu shops were closed completely, Muslim shops remaining open. Majority of the Hindu students absented themselves from schools and colleges while Muslims attended. In some cases, as for example Udaipur, processions were taken out by students shouting anti-government slogans and meetings were held in the evening where the local Praja Mandal exhorted the audience to get ready for sacrifices.

Copy of a telegram received with Political Department endorsement No. nil dated 17.8.42 from Rajputana, Udaipur to Polindia, New Delhi, dated August 15, 1942.

Central India Telegram 197-S August 14 - Serious disturbance in Kotah city August 14 which if continue may necessitate persons of detachment of Crown Representative Police as only 30 trained such troops available. As only 100 Crown Police now available at Neemuch for duties in States not more than half should be sent Indore if assistance required there.

Report of the Rajputana Agency 31st August 1942

Bharatpur:

Prompt action by the Bharatpur Government in arresting and detaining the President and leading workers

of the Praja Parishad deprived the movement of much of the momentum which it might otherwise have regained. The demonstration in Bharatpur which began on the evening of 9th august reached their peak on the 14th August on which day there was a complete hartal and boycot of the colleges and schools. In the evening mock funeral procession was taken out. After a couple of days attendances at schools and colleges became normal. On the 27th August a crowd of about 300 persons marched towards the council office to do Satyagraha and on the arrest of the leaders, the crowd became excited. There were reports of telephone and telegraph wires being cut between Kumher and Bharatpur.

Jaipur:

College students took out processions, persuaded school students to go on strike. Move frustrated by the Prime Minister who addressed a crowded gathering of the students. Isolated cases of hooliganism and sporadic incidents reported from districts.

Jodhpur:

Events in British India and the arrest of the Congress leaders led to disorders in the State. Local Lok Parishad issued letters to Europeans inviting them to leave India and to various high Indian officials requesting their support. Quit India notices have been posted in various parts of the city, meetings were held and processions taken out. Only few instances of cutting telegraph wires, burning of railway carriages and tempering with post boxes. Police had to resort to cane charges on several occasions and on the night of August 17, the troops were called out and stationed outside the city. Women police have beer enlisted to deal with women Satyagrahies who headed the procession on August 17. 45 arrests have been made so far in connection with the All-India Agitation. Police and military is guarding the important centres and buildings and European quarters.

Udaipur:

Protest meetings were held and the Maharaja was asked to severe all connections with the British Government and to turn the political agent and all Europeans

out of the State. A mild lathi charge was made by the police to disperse one of the processions on August 26. Bricks and stones were thrown. About 180 persons were arrested.

Kotah Distrubances:

Mr.G.T. Beer,I.G. of Police, Boondi State writes about his visit to Kotah where he had a discussion with I.G. of Police, Kotah regarding the recent troubles there. He (Inspector General of Police, Kotah) states that his police were adequate in the city but as the crowd collected in front of the Kotwali and attempted to burn it down. The police were compelled to make a lathi charge and four constables fired one shot each from different parts of the building. The lathi charge and the firing were ineffective. Hearing of the difficulties of his police, the Inspector General of Police says, he made three attempts to go to their assistance but he was not permitted to do so by the demonstrators. When he eventually was allowed to go towards the city, he was permitted to enter by the crowd who had closed the gates although they had allowed Apji Sahib to go forward and address them. Apji Sahib addressed the crowd who demanded that -

(a) Persons arrested should be released.

(b) The Chief Minister and the Inspector General of Police should be dismissed from State Service.

The Inspector General of Police complains that Apji Sahib made promise to the crowd and got them to disperse. The result of Apji's action is that the police are completely demoralized. The Inspector General of Police, Kotah is of the opinion that the trouble is not so much political as engineered by State Officials and their sons under the guidance of those in power before the present Chief Minister was appointed. This impression is fairly generally among the Kotah public themselves. I was the Chief Minister, Kotah myself and he practically told me that his administration has ceased to function since the agitation has started.

August 25

Reports from Kotah indicated that the persons arrested in connection with the recent demonstration

there have been released from jail and taken out in a procession throughout the city.

Sd/-G.T. Beer
Inspector General of police
Boondi State
25.8.42

Secret
28th August 1942.

My dear Maharao Sahib,

The Praja Parishad here are proclaiming in Kotah, the Darbar has been forced to agree to release the detainees arrested on the 13th August and to introduce responsible government and the Inspector General of Police has been told to take leave pending retirement. I cannot believe that there is truth in these rumours. Quite apart from the most emphatic advice that I gave to your Highness in Kotah that any such surrender would be disastrous, there is the danger that it would cause most serious repercussions throughout Rajputana and beyond. I have not heard from Your Highness whether you propose to ask for the return of a company of the Umed Infantry as you contemplated. I am off on six weeks leave tomorrow. So would you be so good as to inform Majour Poulton of the position.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- A.A. Russell.

His Highness Maharao Bhim Singhji Bahadur
Maharao of Kotah.

A.C. Lothian forwards a copy of the letter written by Mohan Lal Sukhadia dated nil addressed to the President Praja Mandal Committee at Kapasin enclosing a letter headed Mahatama Gandhi's order no. 1 to Sir Kenneth Fitze, Secretary to His Excellency, the Crown Representative, from his Camp at Ajmer dated September 1, 1942. Lothian's letter says:

"It is impossible at present to say whether the enclosure contains instructions which actually emanated from Gandhi Ji himself. There are, however, similar instructions issued to the Andhra Provincial Congress

Committee and published in a press note issued recently by the Madras Government".

Sukhadia in his letter says:

"You must be aware of the fact that the leaders of the country today are behind the prison bars. Mahadev Desai is the Martyr. The whole country is passing through a fiery trial. There is question of life or death before the country.

Praja Mandal is a national body and according to the instructions of Mahatma Ji it requested His Highness to severe connections with the British Imperialism and give responsible government to the public. Perhaps he would not accede to our demands. It is definite that time has come for our real trial. If the State takes to repression on this demand of ours then we shall have to tell the State that we the members of the committee along with hundreds of companions face this repression in a non-violent way. It must be remembered that this struggle is not against His Highness but rather it is against the British Empire. You should warn all the members about the real situation and they should give material help in the struggle of the nation. If you are informed of our arrest then in that case you should get the enclosure copied and organise meetings and processions and give publicity and bring into practice the things referred to therein.

Mahatma Gandhi's Order No.1

Let the people govern the State under the aegis of the Maharana Sahib.
To be non-violent. Everything can be done by non-violence to overthrow this government. The following things should be done:

1. Do not agree to the conduct of any administration except of the people.
2. Close all mills, factories, schools, colleges and markets as long as people's government is not established.
3. Do not give any assistance to the government.
4. Prepare police men for disobeying orders of the government.

5. Destroy telephones and telegraphs.
6. Stop railway communications.
7. Break the administrative machinery of the government
8. Picket government offices.
9. Spread information through messengers, by posters and by beat of drums. In this way spread agitation against government.
10. Close all schools and colleges till the British Government withdraws, then take control into your own hands.
11. Do not obey any government's laws and do not pay a single pie to the government.
12. Let our slogan be "Long Live Revolution" "Long Live Revolution".

Do not negotiate with the Government till Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders are released. Send five copies of this order from one village to another.

The confidential report dated September 11,1942, refers to the stray incidents, hartals, processions at Alwar, Boondi, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Palanpur and Udaipur. Meetings were held and people exhorted to follow Gandhi's instructions. At Jodhpur there was considerable excitemen At one of the meetings Man Mohan Mathur made a speech advocating murder of European, arson and other acts of violence. European officers were sent letters to Quit India and similar letters were sent to other high Indian officers requesting them as sons of India to ask Europeans to quit India. A case of wire cutting and burning of railway coach was also reported. Five women who had taken out a procession along with some school students declined to disperse and a crowd collected. The women lay down on the road before the mounted police. The crowd abused and stoned the police, the women were arrested and taken to police station. Pillar boxes were damaged. State military force were called out to stand by as the police had been on duty for long periods.

There is another brief note on the disturbances at Kotah dated 11th to 15th August, 1942. The note was sent by A.C. Lothian, Rajputana Agency Camp, Udaipur, dated August 19, 1942 to Sir Kenneth Fitzi, Secretary to His Excellency, the Crown Representative.

Lothian refers to the closure of all the schools and colleges since August 11, and says that a number of teachers are suspected to be in sympathy with the Congress. There followed processions and meetings and State officials were sent amongst the people to reason with them. No arrest was made until the 13th August when seven persons were taken into custody. There upon a crowd collected outside the Kotwali where the persons were detained demanding their release. The prisoners were brought out of the Kotwali to tell the mob to away but instead they shouted to them to continue agitation. Meanwhile, Prime Minister declared an assembly of more than five persons to be unlawful. Extra armed forces were sent to the Kotwali. On the refusal of the crowd to disperse, there was lathi charge. The mob said to be about 2000 in number then became threatening, brandshing sticks and throwing stones. The police withdrew inside the Kotwali whence during that day the 14th they resorted to firing with buck shots on four occasions. The mob took cover but emerged again later. The armed police of whom there were about 60 remained on the defensive. Telephone communications with the kotwali were cut and most of the windows broken. Telegraph wires were cut and the post offices forcibly closed by the rioters. Drains across streets were uncovered to prevent motor cars from passing and the city gate was closed. The hospital was broken into and number of glass bottles smashed. I informed His Highness that immediate action was necessary to regain control and maintain the authority of the Darbar. The Inspector General of police had only 15 armed police left and he could not get to the kotwali. It was decided to call out the military but only 24 men could be mustered under Capt. Kr.Ranjit Singh(Apji Sir Onkar Singh's son). The remaining 45 available trained men had been posted to double the guards. The rest of the training company were recruits who had not yet handled rifles. Capt.Ranjit Singh considered his force insufficient and he was given 6 more men and ordered to proceed in support of the police. Shortly after this His Highness sent for Apji Sir Onkar Singh but I believe after stigmatising the lathi charges has only exciting resentment and deprecating the arrest(which in fact should have been made two days earlier) agreed to go and see what he could do to persuade the mob to disperse. The military was kept back half a mile from the scene and the Magistrate went forward. Apji succeeded in

persuading the mob to disperse which were demanding release of all the prisoners, dismissal of the Prime Minister, Inspector General of Police and other officers and the withdrawal of all extra plice and Apji told the leader to come and see him next day as it was late. On hearing this, I suggest to His Highness that Apji,who now holds no official position, should not be given carteblanche to negotiate and very strongly advised that the demand for the release of the prisoners should on no account to acceded to. Next day about 5000 people collected at Apji's house. By midway, however, the crowd quietened down and in the afternoon they were pursuaded to go home and the shops began to reopen. I have advised His Highness not to take further action as further arrests would only lead to fresh outburst and the Darbar did not have the necessary force to restore order if the rioting became general.

Two facts emerged from this. The Kotah Police lost control very soon and the military force was quite inadequate. The greater part of the training company consists of raw recruits and His Highness proposes to ask for one of his companies back for say two months until such times as these recruits are trained and armed. I would like to add that His Highness though lacking in quick decision, behaved very well indeed throughout the trouble displaying the good sense and coolness.

Ad/-A.A. Russell,
Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States.

———— ·X· ————

58

Praja Mandal Activities in Bharatpur Jaipur and Jodhpur

F.6/IS/42-II August 31, 1942

Bharatpur

Prompt action by the Bharatpur Government in arresting and detaining the President and leading workers

of the Praja Parishad deprived the movement of much of the momentum which it might otherwise have regained. The demonstrations in Bharatpur which began on the evening of the 9th August reached their peak on the 14th August on which day there was a complete hartal and boycott of the colleges and schools. In the evening mock funeral procession was taken out. After a couple of days attendance at schools and colleges became normal. On the 27th August a crowd of about 300 persons marched towards the council office to do Satyagraha and on the arrest of the leaders, the crowd became excited. There were reports of telephone and telegraph wires being cut between Kumher and Bharatpur.

Jaipur

College students took out processions, persuaded school students to go on strike. Move frustrated by the Prime Minister who addressed a crowded gathering of the students. Isolated of hooliganism and sporadic incidents reported from districts.

Jodhpur

Events in British India and the arrest of the Congress leaders led to disorders in the State. Local Lok Parishad issued letters to Europeans inviting them to leave India and to various Indian officials requesting their support. Quit India notices have been pasted in various parts of the city, meetings were held and processions taken out. Only few instances of cutting telegraph wires, burning of railway carriages and tempering with post boxes, Police had to resort to cane charges on several occasions and on the night of August 17, the troops were called out and stationed outside the city. Women police have been enlisted to deal with women Satyagrahis who headed the procession on August 17. 45 arrests have been made so far in connection with the All-India Agitation. Police and military is guarding the important centres and buildings and European quarters.

Udaipur

Protest meetings were held and the Maharaja was asked to severe all connections with the British Government and to turn the political agent and all

Europeans out of the State. A mild lathi charge was made by the police to disperse one of the processions on August 26. Bricks and stones were thrown. About 180 persons were arrested.

———— ⁂ ————

59

Defiant Attitude of People in Baroda

F.6/IS/42-II August 31, 1942

(A secret report from the Residency, Baroda, dated August 31, 1942.)

Mill owners at Baroda still undecided whether to open their mills. Decided to follow the lead of Ahmedabad. 35 persons arrested in connection with arson at Choranda Station, B State Railway. 8 persons arrested at Miyagam for taking out a procession, fined Rs.200/- each.

Mehsana, Baroda State

Procession of 1200 taken out. 400 villagers armed with lathis and spears had come in from nearby villages. Firing in Baroda condemned. Maharaja Gaekwar was declared to be free of all blame which was laid on the Dewan said to be a tool of the Resident. Kamani Bros. factory at Mehsana dismisses all workers, contemplate moving of the factory to Jaipur. Collective fine amounting to Rs.45,000 imposed on 14 villages in the Choranda area.Am informed by the Dewan that a result of my report, a similar fine of Rs.5,000/- has been placed on the villages in the Miyagam-Itola area for damage recently done to the B.B.& C.I. Railway. In each case the fine was calculated at five times the estimated damage. Telegraph wire cut between Kandari, Karjan Taluqa, Baroda State and Anakhol and Kadi in Mehsana District. Collective fines were imposed in both the cases. I drew the attention of the Baroda Government towards the objectionable speeches of one Jagjewan Narandas at Amreli. Now I am informed that he is detained. 11 members of the Baroda City Municipality resigned as a protest against the arrest of Mayor, a leading Praja Mandalist. Procession of

school boys at Kalol; 1,000 persons collected, State police abused and stoned. Police fired over the heads of the crowd which then dispersed; 13 arrested. Picketing started on the 13th of August at the Alembic Works. This was stopped by the police but the owners closed the work for the day. The owners are in fact torn between any desire to appear supporters of the movement while they have no urge at all to forego the very high profits they have been enjoying.

The above is a report from C.K. Daly, Resident for Baroda and Gujerat States.

(Extract from the fortnightly report of Baroda and Gujerat State for fortnight ending August 31, 1942.)

In pursuance of Government orders dated August 18 declaring unlawful the Praja Mandal and took possession of their office throughout Baroda and arrested some of the leaders. A large mob gathered in the city which could not be dealt with by the police. The State forces were called in and firing had to be resorted to resulting in 40 wounded and 2 deaths. Curfew was imposed from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. and police cardon established around disaffected quarters of the city. House searches were also carried out.

———— ·X· ————

60

Movement in C.P. & Berar After R.S. Shukla's Arrest

F.28/Cong/42-B.IV

August 31, 1942

(Extract from the reports on the internal political situation for the Ist and 2nd half of August 1942 received from C.P. & Berar Province.)

Political

During the first week of August, Congressmen took advantage of the "Tilak Jayanti" celebrations to do some propaganda in favour of the civil disobedience resolution. Some of them were arrested for making pre-

judicial speeches. The arrest of all local leaders throughout the province on the 9th, the declaration of Congress Committees as unlawful associations and the seizure of their offices was a complete surprise. Of the 117 persons on the list of more prominent Congress organisers in the province, prepared in advance, only five succeeded in going underground and are still at large. Of these two are prominent members of the Hindustan Red Army who are partly responsible for organising the disturbances in Nagpur and the surrounding area. All India Congress Committee members from the province were arrested at Malkapur and Khandwa on their return journey from Bombay. Three of the ex-Ministers were in the party and Pandit R.S.Shukla, the ex-Prime Minister told the police party which was waiting for him at the Railway Station that "the police were taking a more intelligent view of the Congress and that 200 constables in Poona had immediately resigned from service". Twenty eight of the more important prisoners have been sent to jails in Madras in exchange for a corresponding number of prisoners from the Madras Presidency.

Full details of the distrubances which followed have been supplied already and a brief summary of the more important events is given below. The 9th and 10th of August were comparatively peaceful throughout the province except for hartals, processions and meetings. The first shot was fired at Wardha on the night of the 10th in order to disperse a disorderly Congress meeting. On the same night a Congress meeting at Jubbulpore was successfully dispersed with tear smoke. The situation rapidly deteriorated in Nagpur and the surrounding districts and from the 12th to about the 20th mob violence had to be suppressed at a number of places, principally in the Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara and parts of the Amraoti district. In Nagpur the distrubances began on the 12th afternoon when crowds of hooligans, students and other rowdy elements of the population went round the city destroying electric and telephone wires, attacking police outposts and setting fire to government property. A crowd which attempted to attack the district and civil court buildings in the Civil Station was the first to be dispersed by firing. The disturbances soon spread throughout the city and during the night roads were barricaded, telegraph wires cut and a number of police outposts

and other buildings burnt down. Strong counter-measures had to be taken and on the 12th and 13th the troops and police had to fire on several occasions. Looting on a considerable scale occurred on the 13th and lawless mobs made determined attempts to sabotage railway communications leading out of the city. Trouble soon spread to important tehsil headquarters in the district and every public building at Ramtek was burnt down and the sub-treasury looted. Five Railway stations on the Nagpur-Chhindwara narrow gauge line were burnt, telegraph wires were cut and rails were uprooted. Traffic on this line was interrupted for several days. A number of police station houses set fire to in the Nagpur and Wardha districts. At Chimur, in the Chanda district the Sub-Divisional Magistrate Circle Inspector of Police, Naib-Tahsildar and one constable were murdered. At Ashti, in the Wardha district, a Sub-Inspector of Police, and four constables were murdered. One constable in Nagpur was speared and died subsequently. About ten forest depots were set on fire in the affected areas. A number of assaults on individual constables also occurred in the rural areas. Some were humiliated by having their uniforms burnt and being compelled to wear Gandhi caps and carry Congress flags in processions. All these manifestations of hooliganism and violence were quickly rectified by strong police parties visiting the affected localities and dealing with ringleaders. Several branch post offices were looted in different parts of the province and in some places village officers' papers and records were destroyed. The trouble spread to the aboriginal Betul district and firing had to be resorted to on two occasions in localities adjacent to the main Nagpur-Itarsi railway line. The disorder was localised and did not spread to the other areas of the district. The eastern, western and northern districts of the province were immune from any general diorder, although isolated incidents occurred which necessitated firing by the police.

Mill labour in Nagpur kept aloof from the disturbances. Mill hands in Akola, especially of the Sevagram Ramprasad Mills, damaged telegraph and telephone wires in the Akola city and attempted to set fire to the City Post Office and had to be dispersed with a lathi charge. They returned to work, however, on the following day and have been quiet since, although their complicity in railway sabotage in the vicinity of Akola is suspected.

Very extensive damage to telegraph and telephone wires took place in Nagpur and Amraoti towns and also on the Amraoti-Morsi=Warud road. There were also numerous instances of wire-cutting on all the main lines of communication, but these were all quickly repaired. Sporadic wire-cutting still continues.

Detachments of troops were on duty at a number of places in the Nagpur, Wardha, Bhandara, Chanda and Balaghat districts. In addition mobile columns visited several places where mob violence had occurred. Troops have now been withdrawn from all places, except Ashti in the Wardha district. Flag marches of combined police and military troops in charge of two experience district magistrates were also carried out in a number of districts. Outlying police station houses and government offices were visited.

The total number of arrests and detentions since the commencement of the movement number about four thousand. Approximately eight hundred of these persons have been released on tendering undertakings of apologies. A Berar member of the AICC was also released on giving a written undertaking that he was opposed to the Congress movement and would lend his support to the war effort in his district.

The district councils of Raipur, Bilaspur, Betul, Chhindwara and Drug, with their local boards, the Murwara local board in the Jubbulpore district, the Deoli municipal committee in the Wardha district, and the Mowar municipal committee, in the Nagpur district, were superseded under Defence Rule 38B.

The Marathi 'Harijan','Matribhumi', 'Mujoor' and the 'Sarathi' newspapers were suppressed under Defence Rule 40(1)(d). The Rajasthan Press, Akola, was forfeited and the forfeiture was later suspended on the directors giving a written undertaking that they would print no Congress literature and that they would pay the workmen full wages for the period during which the press was suppressed. The Shri Krishna Printing Works, Wardha, was also forfeited. Collective fines amounting to about Rs.3 lakhs have been imposed on a number of areas in the Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Amraoti, Bhandara, Balaghat and Hoshangabad districts.

By the end of the month the situation had cleared and sporadic cutting of wires and isolated attempts

at sabotage of railway lines were the only noteworthy incidents.

The total casualties amongst the rioters during the month so far as is known, is 98 killed and 168 wounded. Commissioners' reports indicate that the worst phase of mob violence is probably over, although there would be little justification for relaxation of vigilance. The morale of government officials, in spite of the shocks sustained after the murders at Chimur and Ashti, is reported to be excellent. Efforts are being made by local officers to make contact with responsible non-Congress elements in the important centres of agitation and prevail upon them to organise public opinion against all forms of activities involving violence or defiance of authority.

———— ·X· ————

61

Mrs. Shanti Kabir's Support for Mrs. Asaf Ali

F.28/Cong/42-A-III

(Extract from Statement of J.P.
346 dated 1.9.42 I.C.S.P.)

1. I reported previously that Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali was in Calcutta. I heard this from a Jugantar - C.S.P. contact whose source of information was SAROJ BANDHU ACHARJI(absconding). According to SAROJ ACHARJI, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali is living in Calcutta under the care of Mrs. Santi Kabir, wife of Prof. Humayun Kabir (M.L.C.). I do not know if Mrs. Santi Kabir visits Mrs. Asaf Ali at her residence but Mrs. Kabir has undertaken to keep her in Calcutta as long as Mrs. Asaf Ali remains here.

———— ·X· ————

62
Movement in Uttar Pradesh

F.28/Cong./42-0 September 1, 1942

It is stated in the news supplied by the Special messenger of the Congress that the railway lines between Allahabad, Jaunpur and Faizabad have been too badly damaged to be repaired. The railway stations between Benares and Ballia have been burnt to ashes. The national flag was flying on the District Court of Benares and it was for some time under the control of the people. In view of the forcible possession of the Benares Hindu University by the military, Pandit Malaviya had to fast for 24 hours as a protest. The students of the University are joining the movement. There was lathi-charge and firing on a students' procession of 15,000 at Lucknow. 200 have been arrested. Inhuman oppression is being meted out to the people of Gazipore area since 11th of August. Houses are being burnt, women are being molested and people in batches are being whipped. The people of Azamgarh arrested the District Magistrate clad him in khadi dhoti and short, put a national flag in his hand and took him out in a procession. All Hindus and Muslims in Patna closed down their shops and observed hartal. As a result of ruthless assault on 2,000 security prisoners in Worli jail in Bombay, 350 prisoners have received severe injuries. As a protest, Setalvad, the Advocate General, and Jahangirdar, the Government pleader, have tendered resignations.

———— ·X· ————

63
Joint 'Board of Action' in Bengal

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 1, 1942

(Extract from the Special Branch, Calcutta, Memo.No.C.M.579/42 dated 1.9.42.)

A "Board of Action" was formed to conduct the fight in Bengal with Labanya Prova Dutt as president and representatives each of Khadi group, Jugantar group, Anushilan, Bengal Volunteers, Sri Sangha, the suspended

B.P.C.C., Forward Bloc, Soumen Tagore's group and Nihar Dutt Mazumdar's group. The members of other groups insisted upon the inclusion of 2 other members from the official Congress group. But Prof.Raj Kumar Chakravartti having refused to form any separate committee in which Congress could take part as it was evident that the instructions of the so-called Board of Action were not strictly non-violent no other Congressman was included. Moreover Anushilan group did not like to work under the name of the Congress. The Khadi group of which one Bejoy Bhattacharji was included backed out at the last moment. So the "Board" is being conducted by Gunada Mazumdar, with the help of 3 professors of which one is from Vidyasagar College, 2 representatives each from Soumen Tagore, Dutt Mazumdar and Jugantar Groups. Their meeting places could not be traced up to now as Gunada Mazumdar who is in charge discloses name of the meeting place only 15 minutes before they meet together. So far as could be surmised, one of the rooms of the Vidyasagar College building is being used as their meeting place. With the round up on 27.8.42 the official Congress has stopped functioning. Kalipada Mukherji before being arrested informed all the District Congress Committee President to act independently according to the President's own views granting them autonomy.

———— ·X· ————

64
Repression in Orissa

F.28/Cong/42-0 September 1, 1942

In the district of Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam, Koraput and Sambalpur, the work is going on as usual. In order to arrest Congress workers in Tirtol and Ersama areas, the Goorkha troops are raiding villages in midnight. If the workers are not found, their parents are being mercilessly assaulted. Despite repeated efforts, not a single process could be served in Bari areas.

xxx xxx xxx

As it appears, there has been going on a firing administration in Balasore district. As a result of

firing on a mob of about 4000, 8 persons have been killed. Every endeavour was made in Basudebpur to set fire to the police station but nothing has materialised. The Inspector with forces is watching the situation there. 250 persons of 'Maran Sena' (Death Army) are ready to lay down their lives. 3 chowkidars have resigned and have set fire to their uniforms. Swaraj panchayats have been formed in 12 villages. The people have announced by beat of drums that they won't pay taxes and revenue till independence is achieved. According to Government communique 7 persons have been killed.

xxx xxx xxx

———— ⁂ ————

65

Collective Fines in C.P. & Berar and Repercussions

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV September 2, 1942

C.I.D. report dated September 2,1942 refers to the fast in jails at Wardha, Bhandara, Akola, Jabalpur and at Nagpur where it was led by Vinoba Bhave. The total collective fines imposed in C.P. & Berar was Rs.3,11,375. The provincial government delegated powers to District Magistrates to impose fines up to a limit of Rs.5,000 on any area and to grant of resumption to individuals. The public prosecutors of Nagpur, Wardha, Akola, Seoni and Saugor who were appointed by government resigned their posts. Later C.I.D.report that outwardly Congress activities have subsided and the flood of objectionable pamphlets is also subsiding at Nagpur though the 2nd October, Gandhi Jayanti Day and the 9th, the day of the leaders' arrest were observed as usual. Political prisoners in Nagpur Jail caused some trouble on the 27th and refused to obey orders. This resulted in a hunger strike. Usual incendiarism were reported from almost all the districts especially Saugor, Betul, Chanda, Nimar, Raipur, etc. According to C.I.D. report dated 7.10.42 disturbances broke out in the convocation hall at Nagpur when a batch of students entered the hall, broke inkpots, tore answer books, threw dust and chillies on examinees and ran away before the police arrived.

———— ⁂ ————

66

Sardar Patel Collects Fund for Labourers to keep them away from Mills

F.6/IS/42-II September 2, 1942

Attempts were made to reopen some of the mills. The labourers are not in this movement and would gladly return. Mill owners under instructions from Ahmedabad and several of whom have other mills there place every difficulty in the way of resuming work while outwardly posing as willing to restart. It is widely understood that before the present disturbances, Sardar Patel collected a large sum of money in Ahmedabad for the purpose of paying labourer to keep away from the mills and that some of the leaders are being bribed to do so. While the labourers are promised that if they do not importune the owners to start work, they will receive their pay. Situation remains disturbed at Kalol, Baroda State after a meeting on the 29th when a few rounds were fired over the heads of the crowd. At Sidhpur meeting dispersed by lathi charge. Arrests made.

———— ·X· ————

67

Incitement Attempts at Army by Bengali Students

F.24/Cong/42-V September 3, 1942

An extract from a note on Sikhs in Quetta dated September 3, 1942 refers to Granthi Kartar Singh and Gurdwara Jagat Sudhar Rash Behari Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, is said to have caused by Bengali students and on their instructions translated the relevant portion of the programme in Gurumukhi for distribution among the Sikhs employed in army and other government-departments in Bengal.

———— ·X· ————

68

Congress Leaders ask People to Paralyse Government

F.24/Cong/42-V September 4, 1942

A letter to the Home Secretary from the Superintendent of Police, C.I.D. U.P. September 4, 1942 refers to the speeches made by the prominent leaders of the Congress instigating people to violence that lay behind the screen of professed non-violent action. Dr.Ram Manohar Lohia at Kanpur referred to the possibility that in the next 5 or 6 months such a situation might arise as may lead to the transference of the Government in this country to the Indian people or some other nation, so Gandhiji has started a vigorous campaign for overthrowing the British rule during this war. If he is not able to do it, we will do so. Similar speeches were quoted from Balkrishna at Kanpur on 29.7.42 and G.B. Pant at Kanpur on 19.7.42. The latter said, "If Britain does not grant us freedom, we will have to wrest it forcibly. It is your duty to be ready for making any sacrifice for the freedom of your country". Again on August 1, 1942, Pant told an audience at Nainital, today when millions and millions of people in the world are sacrificing their lives and allowing themselves to be cut to pieces for the independence and freedom of their country, will you, too, on listening to the call of a leader like Gandhi not be prepared to do your duty.... We would not rest until freedom is achieved. We should surely fight for ourselves and our country. P.D. Tandon said in a speech in a village in Allahabad District on 14.6.42. How many men are there in a police station. 10 or 20 policemen are stationed there. If 100 sadhus come in , in the guise of dacoits even 105 policemen cannot protect you..... Besides, the government itself wants that you may become a brave people and move out brilliantly not with lathis, but together with ease and that you may protect yourselves. Pt.Nehru also spoke in the same strain when he said in a speech at Gorakhpur on 1.7.42. Inqualab means complete overthrow of one thing by another. Inqualab is bad as well as good. Inqualab only the fittest will survive. Inqualab has reached your doors and you have to think what you have to do. You have now to remove the present, old and worthless

government and establish a national government in its place and again only jail going is not the only course of satyagraha. The word is militarised these days. Military tactics are being adopted. Every person has to risk his life and unless we risk our lives we cannot be free. Among the documentary evidence is included a leaflet entitled instructions to P.C.Cs. from the AICC (i.e. 12 point programme) which was recovered from Mrs.Vijaylaxmi Pandit on arrival at Lahore and Mrs.Pandit informed the officers taking possession of the circular that it has already been distributed to the districts. The slogan is "To Do or Die".Further document in this connection is a letter from Chand, the daughter of Mrs. Pandit written from Allahabad on 23.8.42 to a girl student in Lucknow. In this she states "you asked about the non-violent question. Gandhiji's instructions are to completely paralyse the government in any way possible, short of murder".....(some interesting parts from this letter are enclosed). The writer is in a position to know and admits that she herself is taking part. Another documentary evidence cited is a typed copy of the circular to which was attached a further bulletin purporting to be from AICC to the provincial Congress Committees and others. This bulletin was seized in Calcutta. Finally there is information corroborated by subsequent events and by different agencies that in July following the Wardha resolution, the United Provinces have been divided into six group areas in Congress organisation and that between 25th and 28th July selected Congress leaders were to meet the various district representatives at the group headquarters for the purpose of imparting instructions to them. The Superintendent of Police arrives at the conclusion that the mass accumulation of evidence and the foreign participation in the campaign of Congress supporters taken together with the evidence of their continued exploitation of the masses in preparation for the campaign can leave indeed whatsoever for the foreign upheaval must certainly have been envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi and his rebel Council.

Relevant extracts from the letter from Chand, daughter of Mrs.Pandit to a girl friend, Ranjana dated 23.8.42, "you asked about non-violence question. Gandhiji's instructions are to completely paralyse the Government in anyway possible short of murder.

The ways resorted to so far have been breaking wires, derailing trains, internal strikes and hartals. No specific instructions have been given but each town is supposed to have sufficient brains to think of ways of embarrassing the Government.

Yes, troops must be made to listen. Half the battle is won if they come on our side. Policemen are more or less on the border line and with encouragement they can be made to change over and help instead of harming us. It is also important to work up wives and kids of Government officials and show them that their men folk are utter pansies. No one should attack and bodily injure anyone else, but short of that you can do anything.

Even if the I.T. girls get their B.A. Degree, it won't have much good in free India because of their past unnationalistic record.

In Bombay U.S. troops refused to fire on Indians and are urging Indian troops to follow suit".

———— ·X· ————

69

Kotah Administration Paralysed

F.6/IS/42-II September 4, 1942

(Extract from report received with
Political Department
No.nil dated 4.9.42) Secret

Mr.G.T. Beer,I.G. of Police, Boondi State writes about his visit to Kotah where he had a discussion with I.G. of Police Kotah regarding the recent troubles there. He (Inspector-General of Police, Kotah) states that his police were adquate in the city but as the crowd became unruly, his force gradually retreated to the Kotwali to take up their position there. A large crowd collected in front of the Kotwali and attempted to burn it down. The police were compelled to make a lathi charge and four constables fired one shot each from different parts of the building. The lathi charge and the firing were ineffective. Hearing of the difficulties of his police, the Inspector-General of Police

says, he made three attempts to go to their assistance but he was not permitted to do so by the demonstrators. When he eventually was allowed to go towards the city, he was permitted to enter by the crowd who had closed the gates although they had allowed Apji Sahib to go forward and address them. Apji Sahib addressed the crowd who demanded that

(a) Persons arrested should be released.

(b) The Chief Minister and the Inspector-General of Police should be dismissed from State Service.

The Inspector-General of Police complains that Apji Sahib made promise to the crowd and got them to disperse. The result of Apji's action is that the police are completely demoralized. The Inspector-General of Police, Kotah, is of the opinion that the trouble is not so much political as engineered by State officials and their sons under the guidance of those in power before the present Chief Minister was appointed. This impression is fairly generally among the Kotah public themselves. I saw the Chief Minister, Kotah myself and he practically told me that his administration has ceased to function since the agitation has started.

———— ·X· ————

70

Goods Train Derailed in Bombay: Situation in Saij after Murder of Police Officers

F.6/IS/42-II September 4, 1942

Derailment of a train, engine and four wagons. It would seem unnecessary to run trains from Champaner Road to the Manganese Mines at Shivrajpur which appeared to be tampered with.

About 4 A.M. on the 4th a goods train was derailed at miles 520/12 on the B.B. & C.I. Railway about three miles north of Kalol. This incident at first believed not to be serious, has since transpired to have been accompanied by loss of life. The train normally not goods only carried a platoon of Baroda State force from Mehsana who were being hurried to Kalol as a result of the disturbance on September 3. A number

of these men were injured and there have been one or two deaths. Two drivers accompanying cattle were also killed. There is no evidence to attribute the sabotage to Thakardas and the disturbance at Saij some 4½ miles away. The general opinion is that the fish plates were removed by persons with knowledge of railway matters. Enquiries proceeding. Cyclostyled pamphlets are pouring in Baroda City and Mehsana received from Bombay. It being suggested that some form of mails censorship being imposed before the mail bags leave large centres such as Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona. It is obviously impossible to detect and withhold such pamphlets at hundreds of village post offices.

Then there follows a secret letter regarding the disturbances at Saij by one Maqbool Hasan to the Dewan dated September 7,1942, from Mehsana.

My dear Dewan Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letters dated the 5th and 6th instant. The Saij village affairs is an unfortunate one and has nothing to do with the present movement whatsoever.

Saij is a village hardly one mile and a half from Kalol proper on the B.B. & C.I.Railway. The Thakarda population predominate there. My information is that trouble was due to the excessive drunkenness of the Thakardas and partly owing to grudge and animosity lurking in their minds for some time past against the police in general. On the Janamashtami day when the Thakardas of Saij and other neighbouring villages heavily drunk themselves, it was usual to send 3 or 4 policemen for nominal bandobast. The policemen used to go there, sit somewhere in the village and quietly clear out. This year the Assistant Police Naib Suba accompanied by Sarfojdar and Fojdar, the Naib Fojdar and a Possee of policemen went there for the bandobast. The Excise Inspector with his men also accompanied. I think, Thakardas misunderstood this and dead drunk as they were, they offered an offence to the visitors. On arriving there the police could easily detect the hostile attitude of the Thakardas and they did think it advisable to return quickly. The whole party had hardly gone a couple of furlongs when it was remembered that the police daftar (papers) were left over in the chora. So a Havildar was sent

to fetch them. The Havildar went back and the infuriated mob began to harass him and beat him. The Havildar yelled out and the whole party that was going away returned to his rescue and the disturbance started. After some time police officers and men took shelter in the chora and closed the doors. The Thakardas not being in a position to get at them began to sprinkle kerosine oil in the chora and set it on fire. The fire increasing, the whole lot came out. The Thakardas had lathis, dharyis, swords, bows and arrows and shot guns with them and they were more than 2,000-3,000 in number. The result was that they were easily over-powered. The Naib Fojdar's brain was cut open. The Sarfojdar was severely wounded. Four policemen were done to death. The A.P.N.S. opened fire from his revolver and killed one Thakarda and wounded one who was removed by the Thakardas. The A.P.N.S. was also wounded. He had one pellel in the chest and an arrow shot in the leg. The police force return. Investigation is proceeding.

———— ·X· ————

71

Acts of Sabotage by 'Bengal Volunteer Group'

F.28/Cong/42-A.I September 5, 1942

(Extract from the Special Branch,
Calcutta Memo.No.579/42 dated 5.9.1942.)

In connection with setting fire to a tram car at the junction of Russa Road and Mudiali Road on 27.8.1942 (vide August para 151) the local police arrested Kalidas Mukherji (E.V.Group) of 27 S.R.Das Road on 1.9.42. Kalidas Mukherji, in the course of a confessional statement, mentioned a number of his associates who had been systematically engaged in cutting trolley ropes of tram cars and setting fire to them and in other acts of hooliganism. He added that the programme formulated by the secret party which he described as the "Bengal Volunteer Group" compris-ed (i) striking down the police when surrounded by crowds, (ii) dislocating communications (iii) striking down Europeans in the streets, (iv) destroying the goods of British manufacturers and (v) setting fire to tram cars.

———— ·X· ————

72

Gandhi had Prior Information of Arrest: Instructions for Followers

F.24/Cong./42-v September 5, 1942

There is a letter signed by G.Ahmed, Deputy Director (A), I.B.H.D., New Delhi dated September 5,1942 to Deputy Commissioner of Police S.B.I. Bombay which quotes a report as follows "Gandhi and other Congress leaders received information in Bombay that their arrests were to be made immediately and hence the session of the all-India Congress Committee was concluded on August 8. On the morning of August 9, the police arrived at Birla house to arrest Gandhi. After the departure of Gandhi and others, Satya Murti, M.L. Saxena and others reached Birla House; they were given by Mrs. Gandhi a document purporting to contain a message in writing left behind by Gandhi. Thereafter Satya Murti convened a meeting of all the remaining important members of AICC numbering about 70 which included M.L. Saxena, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Ram Manohar Lohia, R.S. Pandit, Mrs.Purnima Banerjee and others. Gandhi's message was read out at the meeting and in the discussions that followed, it was decided to encourage the boycott of courts and police, organisation of extensive strikes, sabotage of telegraph communications and the destruction of larger bridges, the winning over of military by contacts and leaflet propaganda, the cutting of supplies of grain to cities in supporting the movement. AICC members were to go underground and organisation campaign; instructions were cyclostyled under the guidance of Satya Murti and handed over to members for distribution.

———— ·X· ————

73

New Dimensions in Political Activities in Punjab and Delhi

F.24/Cong./42-D.I September 5,1942

According to a report from Defence Department the situation in the Districts of Jullundur and Ambala

was quiet only for a single solitary instance when canal telegraph wires were cut between Rohtak and Bhiwani. There was no instance of any type. There is a secret note dated 5.9.42 regarding the effect of the Congress movement on the Secretariat Staff Delhi. This note is based on materials collected by A.C.I.O. Delhi. There is little doubt that the Congress movement has shaken the loyalty of the ministerial staff attached to the headquarters of the Government of India to a considerable extent. A general survey shows that the fact has been fairly wide-spread. The persons who at one time displayed loyalty and had no interest in politics now discuss the subject openly and with some animation. Although Muslims are not pro-Congress, they do not appear at the same time pro-British. Political discontent or disaffection often breeds on personal grievances sometimes of genuine nature. Such grievances are ventilated among the clerks serving in the Government of India. The complaint about the treatment and the lack of consideration they received from their officers, work at high pressure, longer hours in office and meagre chance of promotion. The increased cost of living and the difficulty in procuring every day food essentials i.e. wheat and sugar are other matters, complaint about scores of inflammatory and highly objectionable leaflets pouring in. The firing caused in the Delhi Cantt., the General and the Central Council Hall and in the Indian Press are said to express their feeling against the British Raj. The old hands although agitated are not very keen to side openly or actively with the political-minded elements. At the same time they have a sense of insecurity owing to the international situation and an ordinance requiring them to serve in any part of India if necessary. The younger elements those recruited for the duration of the war are most affected by the recent Congress events. They are responsible for most of the discontent in the Secretariat and are believed to have contact with the outside agitators who have fed them on revolutionary leaflets. This type of Government servants might commit sabotage from within should the situation deteriorate. The statement refers to a fresh trouble in Delhi on 7.9.42 when the boundary walls of a school were pulled down and much damage was done to an A.R.P.Post. A Sub-Inspector had to save his life by firing in Sadar Bazar. There are also references to the picketing

of the house of the Executive Councillor Mr.Anne and N.R.Sarkar by school girls. An extract from C.I.O. Lahore on political situation in Delhi for the first half of September 1942 says the situation in mills and factories has greatly improved. Only the Delhi Cloth and Birla Mills are an exception. The attendance of workers in these two mills being poor. Both Sir Siri Ram and Shankar Lal seem to be under the pressure of Bombay mill-owners and are not very enthusiastic about the labourers resuming work. It may be recalled in this connection that Mrs.Aruna Asaf Ali recently gave out that Deshbandhu Gupta had gone to Bombay with an assurance from Sir Siri Ram that the latter will support the Congress movement and will close down his mills if he was asked to do so. It is even suspected that the firing caused in the Delhi Cloth Mills were inspired by the mill agents in order to arm themselves with a suitable excuse to close down the mills. Another report from source which is said to be of unknown reliability says that a large sum of money was sent to Mrs.Asaf Ali at Matunga near Bombay through Mrs.Gadodiya at Ahmedabad and passed on through Tricumji of Bombay.

———— ·X· ————

74
Underground Activities in Orissa

F.28/Cong/42-0 September 6, 1942

CUTTACK DISTRICT:

There was a spontaneous strike in all the schools and the Ravenshaw College. Meetings were very peacefully held. Processions of the students in the town while passing through the notified areas were obstructed by the Police. Prominent students were arrested. But the younger sections in the processions took courage, garlanded the Police and the Magistrates who were present there and asked them to resign their service. On the 15th August a batch of students set fire to the office of the Ravenshaw College. Special appeals to the police magistrates and students are issued. Two Government officers have resigned. Prohibitory orders in the to

are disobeyed. There was a lathi charge on the college students who were leading a procession in the town. Englishman is appointed as the Superintendent of Police in place of Indian officer. Numerous meetings are held in mofussils where freedom is declared, the dresses of village police - Chowkidars - and other Govt.symbols are burnt down as a sign of the end of British rule.At several places policemen are not able to arrest Congress-men and at places where such arrests are effected, the people again gather in large numbers and take back the arrested person.

xxx xxx xxx

Collective fine of Rs.5,000/-was imposed on four villages nearby and the Additional District Magistrate of Cuttack used all sorts of illegal and inhuman methods to realise the amount. The Muslim population were exempted by the Government from this penalty and the Magistrate, who is a Moslem, instigated the Mosle-ms against other members of the society.

xxx xxx xxx

BALASORE DISTRICT:

A number of villagers surrounded the Bhandaripokhari Police Station in this district a few days after Gandhiji's arrest and demanded resignation from the police officer.

xxx xxx xxx

Collective fine of Rs.6,000/- has been imposed on 12 villages for this. Meetings and picketting at sch-ools and liquor shops are going on in some parts of the district.

xxx xxx xxx

Extract from the C.I.O. Cuttack Daily Report No.82, dated 12.10.42.

.....

From the little that Suren Dwivedi has so far given out it is learnt that the movement in its present form was initiated from Bombay by Yusuf Meher Ali, Mayor of Bombay and a leading member of the Congress Socia-list Party, who, in a meeting of the party held on

the evening of the 8th August, stated that he had definite information that the Congress was going to be declared illegal and the leaders were going to be arrested on the following morning. He requested the members present to chalk out a programme on behalf of the Congress and a programme was accordingly framed and made over to the Bombay members for circulation. Yusuf Mehar Ali was arrested on the 9th morning. There was an informal meeting in Bombay, attended by several Congressmen and Socialists, after the leaders were arrested on the 9th morning and discussions took place amongst them about the programme to be followed. Dwivedi and Malati Chaudhury attended this meeting as also the two Socialist Party meetings held on the evening of the 7th and 8th August.

———— ·X· ————

75

Collection of Funds in U.P. and Activities of Gairola and Malviya

F.24/Cong/42-v September 7, 1942

According to a C.I.D. report dated 7.9.42,Babu Baldev Das, manager of the Aaj Press was said to be responsible for printing and publication of Ram Behari. This report gives a long list of the names in the Banaras city and District, Banares Tehsil and Chandauli Tehsil. About Rs.30,000/-were collected in the earlier stages of the movement through the efforts of Thakar Das advocate, Dr.Thungomma, Gori Shankar Misra, Damodar Das, Lakshmi Chandar Chandu etc., Rs.10,000/-being given by Jyoti Bhushan Gupta, the balance being raised by subscriptions from the merchants of Kunj Gali and some other Marwaris. Dr.Gairola have formed the students working in groups of 5 or 6 each and move about from village to village, preaching Congress programme and inciting the villagers to harass and kill the police and military where possible. Balkrishna Sharma surrendered himself according to a C.I.O. Lucknow report dated 8.9.42 in pursuance of the wishes of his colleagues who feared that he would be shot dead if the police saw him in Kanpur.

A report from the C.I.O. Lucknow dated 9.9.42 refers

to Kesho Deo Malviya to be conducting the movement from a place some-where in allahabad where he lives in a house which has been arranged for him by Aijaz Husain and other employees of Khaddar Bhandar in Allahabad. Employees of the Allahabad Khaddar Bhandar arranged for other underground workers to meet Kesho Deo Malviya to report developments and receive instructions. The pass word was said to be Jai Hanumanji Ki.

———— ·X· ————

76

Sir A.R. Dalal's Failure to Placate Tata Strikers

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 7, 1942

(Extract from the Special Branch, Calcutta Memo.No.C.M.579/42 dated 7.9.1942.)

The Tata strikers are still holding out although Sir A.R.Dalal asked them in writing to join by 31.8.42 on pain of being dismissed from service. There will be desperate picketing in complete disregard of firing and bloodshed for which fifty per cent workers are ready. The writer along with his two "comrades" is doing their utmost in this matter. The police seized all leaflets in a press, and the other presses have refused to print the writer requests the addressee to have the leaflet (forwarded) printed at Calcutta. He adds that Kulti, Burnpur, Ishapore, Cossipore Gun Factory and the important collieries of Jharia are totally closed and also mentions one Priyanath in the letter.

———— ·X· ————

77

"Quiet India Day" Sponsored by Government

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 9, 1942

(Extract from the Special Branch,
Calcutta Memo.No.C.M.579/42 dated 9.9.42)

According to Usha Roy and Ramani Goswami", Quiet India" day was to be observed by the supporters of Government on 6.9.42 as a counter-demonstration against the Congress slogan "Quit India". The students of the R.S.P. and Forward Bloc decided to organise meetings, processions and other demonstrations to frustrate the "Quit India" programme. This idea was, however, disliked by Usha Roy and Ramani Goswami who wanted to observe the attitude of the Muslim League to the "Quit India" plan, as by creating disturbance, they did not want to create communal dissensions in Bengal.

———— ·X· ————

78

Akalis' Active in Movement in Punjab

F.24/Cong./42-V September 9, 1942

C.I.D. report from Punjab for September, 1942 states that in general Congress Civil Disobedience movement in Punjab remains completely under control. Congress underground machinery has been shattered owing to speedy police action. There were some pamphlets issued on behalf of the Azad Punjab Government giving an exaggerated account of activities outside Punjab. 9 individuals courted arrests in some other towns by raising objectionable slogans. On the whole, the Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab remains symbolic in character confined only to extreme political workers. While the masses continue to dislike it lest it might give rise to communal trouble. Lahore was perfectly peaceful on the 9th September though a partial hartal in Amritsar. A few Akali workers made objectionable speeches at some religious gatherings and were arrested. 5 Sewadars of a Lahore Gurdwara took out a procession and were arrested. Akalis of importance are, however, keeping

aloof from the struggle. Seth Sudarshan has been arrested. Rameshwari Nehru who was once arrested and released again tried to lead an unlawful procession, but was arrested.

———— ·X· ————

79

Mrs.Charitar Singh leads attack on a Police Station in Bihar

F.24/Cong./42-V September 10, 1942

Another report dated 10.9.42 for Bihar refers to the attack made on Bahera P.S.Darbhanga which took place on the 19th August, "The Congress volunteers using ban and slogans etc. came from Congress Ashram which is 1/4th mile north of the P.S. on Behara - Sakri Road some of them got up to the Thana Veranda. The wife of Charitar Singh of Kharari was leading them. She dashed one of the doors and broke it open; on seeing this others did the same. My men who were with me i.g. sentries who were on my side requested them not to do so, but they did not hear. The females said that the males are namard. They should burn the thana and shoot the officers. She took out her revolver and the only brother of Gopal G.Choudhari also took out a revolver from his pocket."

———— ·X· ————

80

Kiran Shankar Roy's Criticism of the Movement

F.28/Cong/42-A.I September 10,1942

(Extract from the Special Branch,
Calcutta Memo.No.579/42 dated 10.9.42.)

The Congressmen of Bengal especially the AICC members who are staunch follower of Mahatmaji having been taken away abruptly the province lost the lead of Congress and various other organisations, revolutionary and otherwise have taken up the lead and hence these troub-

les, so said Mr.Kiran Shankar Roy. He has been frightened away and so also is Amar Ghosh. At present "the party" formed by the remaining members of the Jugantar group, Anushilan Bengal Volunteers is trying to guide the movement. The pamphlet "Do or die" printed in red ink used to be distributed by Upan Sinha who was in charge of the Burma evacuees. Both Jyotish Bhowmic and Hemanta Tarafdar are missing and it is suggested that all the literature surreptitiously published in the name of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee are being drafted by them. No organisation has been set up by the B.P.C.C. as it could not function with the arrest of Kali Mukerji. Whatever noise is being created in the province is being done by autonomous groups who assert that every group has a right to act according to its own way. The only pamphlet issued by the B.P.C.C. is the "Instructions of A.I.C.C. to Provincial Congress Committees".

Kiran Shankar Roy has been advising the Ad Hoc Congressites to keep absolutely aloof from what is going on in this and other provinces. His reasons are:

1. The shape of the movement for freedom has taken is not at all to the liking of Mahatmaji who was given absolute dictatorship. This is evident when one follows the course of action taken by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his colleagues in the Frontier Province. He has kept the movement in that Province absolutely non-violent.

2. The terrorist parties have combined and non-violence which they never accepted as their creed has been forsaken by them though they pose to belong to Congress.

3. The Communists, being heavily paid by the interested parties are smuggling themselves with unwary Congressmen and are acting as agent provocateurs and are creating opportunities for the Government to launch conspiracy case against non-violent Congress workers to stifle the Congress movement in Bengal.

4. The formation of the Bengal Ministry with the revolt group of the Congress namely the Forward Bloc group and its acceptance by the Bengal Governor on the one hand and by large number of public because of the trumpeting of these ministers to the effect that they have been able to do away with the communal

tension in Bengal have curbed the influence of the official Congressmen to a large extent.

5. A large number of youths of Bengal are followers of Subhas Bose. When he was compelled to leave the Congress these youths condemned the official Congress in Bengal and in the very eyes of the Government took to violence to break up the peaceful meetings of the Congress which were called only to preach the good side of practising non-violence. Now these youths have stood against the Government and are creating most harmful disturbances.

According to Kiran Babu when these rowdyism, hooliganism and terrorism will subside then only the time for Congressmen shall begin.

As most of the official Congress leaders in Bengal have been arrested there is no link left behind between different districts. But the founders of "The Party" have issued confidential circulars to their party members in different districts to take up the lead and to unite all the groups and try to sabotage the present government by all means, foul or fair.

Mrs.Labanya Prova Dutt, President, Bengal Congress Committee which asked on 6.9.42 whether she has appointed any one of the office-bearers of the B.P.C.C. to organise any district in Bengal, she emphatically replied 'No'. She further said that as at the instigation of the R.S.P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party, formerly known as the Anushilan Group), the Jugantar group and the Students' Federation violence has been introduced in the fight for freedom in the name of the Congress she has severed all connections from the present movement.

———— ·X· ————

81

Hartals and Processions in Rajputana States

F.6/IS/42-II September 11, 1942

The confidential report dated September 11,1942, refers to the stray incidents, hartals, processions at Alwar, Boondi, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Palanpur and Udaipur. Meetings were held and people exhorted to

follow Gandhi's instructions. At Jodhpur there was considerable excitement. At one of the meetings Man Mohan Mathur made a speech advocating murder of European, arson and other acts of violence. European officers were sent letters to quit India and similar letters were sent to other high Indian officers requesting them as sons of India to ask Europeans to quit India. A case of wire cutting and burning of railway coach was also reported. Five women who had taken out a procession along with some school students declined to desperse and a crowd collected. The women lay down on the road before the mounted police. The crowd abused and stoned the police, the women were arrested and taken to police station. Pillar boxes were damaged, State military force were called out to stand by as the police had been on duty for long periods.

There is another brief note on the disturbances at Kotah dated 11th to 15th August, 1942. The note was sent by A.C. Lothian, Rajputana Agency Camp,Udaipur, dated August 19, 1942 to Sir Kenneth Fitzi, Secretary to His Excellency, the Crown Representative.

Lothian refers to the closure of all the schools and colleges since August 11, and says that a number of teachers are suspected to be in sympathy with the Congress. There followed processions and meetings and State officials were amongst the people to reason with them. No arrest was made until the 13th August when seven persons were taken into custody. Thereupon a crowd collected outside the kotwali where the persons were detained demanding their release. The prisoners were brought out of the kotwali to tell the mob to go away but instead they shouted to them to continue agitating. Meanwhile, Prime Minister declared an assembly of more than five persons to be unlawful. Extra armed forces were sent to the Kotwali. On the refusal of the crowd to disperse, there was lathi charge. The mob said to be about 2,000 in number then became threatening, brandishing sticks and throwing stones. The police withdrew inside the kotwali whence during that day the 14th they resorted to firing with buck shots on four occasions. The mob took cover but emerged again later. The armed police of whom there were about 60 remained on the defensive. Telephone communications with the kotwali were cut and the post-offices forcibly closed by the rioters. Drains across streets were uncovered to prevent motor cars from passing and the

city gate was closed. The hospital was broken into and number of glass bottles smashed. I informed His Highness that immediate action was necessary to regain control and maintain the authority of the Darbar. The Inspector-General of Police had only 15 armed police left and he could not get to the kotwali. It was decided to call out the military but only 24 men could be mustered under Capt.Kr.Ranjit Singh(Apji Sir Onkar Singh's son). The remaining 45 available trained men had been posted to double the guards. The rest of the training company were recruits who had not yet handled rifles. Capt.Ranjit Singh considered his force insufficient and he was given 6 more men and ordered to proceed in support of the police.

Two facts emerged from this. The Kotah Police lost control very soon and the military force was quite inadequate. The greater part of the training company consists of raw recruits and His Highness proposes to ask for one of his companies back for say two months until such time as these recruits are trained and armed. I would like to add that His Highness though lacking in quick decision, behaved very well indeed throughout the trouble displaying the good sense and coolness.

Sd/-A.A. Russell,
Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States.

———— ·X· ————

82
Amar Barman and Debi Chaudhuri in Saboteur Activities

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 11, 1942

(Extract from the Special Branch,
Calcutta, Memo.No.579/42 dated 11.9.42)

Amar Barman and Debi Chaudhuri of the R.S.P. have been taking an active interest in setting fire to tram cars and post offices. According to Amar on 7.9.42 two batches were formed with Amar Barman, Debi Chaudhuri and one Chandi Babu in one and with Samar Mukharji of 1/1, Kumartoli Street and 2 or 3 youths

of Baghbazar side in the other to set fire to the Beadon Street and Aheeritolla post offices respectively.Amar, Debi and Chandi went to Beadon Street P.O. but soon returned on seeing some sentry there without making any attempt to set fire to the post office. So they reinforced Samar Mukharji and his accomplices at the Aheeritolla post office where Amar Barman and Samar Mukharji attempted to set fire to the records and Chandi guarded them. Afterwards, Amar Barman and Chandi cut the trolly cord of a tram car on Chitpur Road and in doing so, received some injuries which were attended to in the Paul Pharmacy at the junction of Chittaranjan Avenue and Beadon Street. Amar Barman added that they would attempt next to set fire to the Beadon Street P.O. and G.P.O. with a view to causing panic and nervousness amongst the staff.

———— ·X· ————

83

Shooting at Students at Patna: Underground Activities of Socialists

F.24/Cong/42-V September 12, 1942

An extract from the C.I.O. Patna dated 12.9.42 refers to the fact that the two Bihar Congress Juniors, Jagat Narain Lal and Abdul Bari are still at large and busy inciting the people to subversive activities. In Patna Archer, the District Magistrate of Patna is said to have called some of the student demonstrators near the Secretariat, caught and shot them. Another C.I.D. report claimed that most of the leaders of the Congress Party had been arranged, but there was a large number of organisers who were unknown to us and a good many of those who conducted operations have fled and crossed over the Nepal frontier or went underground. Leaders of the movement in jail Mrs.Asaf Ali and Jugal Kishore Khanna were said to have failed to establish contacts with leaders of other provinces. Universities of Banares, Allahabad, and Lucknow which were closed are said to have taken a prominent part in the movement. The terrorist elements in the ranks of the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc and members of the H.S.R.A. are participating in the organisation

of sabotage campaign in certain areas. Finding it difficult to persuade the masses to come forward for agitation, they are keeping themselves in hiding. The Congress leaders are now one by one coming into the open. Balkrishan Sharma and Dr.Jawahar Lal in Kanpur and M.L.Saxena in Lucknow have already courted arrests.

———— ·X· ————

84

Rail tampering in Punjab and Delhi

F.28/Cong/42-P-I September 12, 1942

(Extract from Punjab C.I.D.,Security Review for the week ending the 12th September 1942.)

A few cases of tampering with the railway, the cutting of telegraph wires and phone wires have been reported during the week. They occurred earlier. On the 31st August 1942 between Rhotak and Asthal Bohar a gangmen's sign board and a gradient post were removed in an attempt to confuse the driver of the train and thus stop it. The attempt was unsuccessful. A report was received at the Delhi railway police station on the 5th September that a fish plate and four bolts were removed between Okhla and Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din railway stations. Telegraph wires were cut in four places in the Hoshiarpur District on the 27th, 28th and 29th August and between Verka and Kathunangal in the Amritsar district on the 5th of September.

———— ·X· ————

85

Mills in Baroda Remain Closed

F.6/IS/42-II September 12, 1942

(Report of the Resident covering the period September 7 to 12)(Gujarat State Agency)

Some fish plates and bolts removed near Ankhol few miles from Kalol. Mills in Baroda remained closed

until the situation improves at Ahmedabad. Baroda colleges and schools are functioning but attendance is poor. 40 to 50 persons arrested at Saij.

Situation quieter; desultory picketing of schools and colleges and occasional attempts in various parts of the Baroda State to take out processions. Mills remained closed in Baroda, Kalol and Mehsana including the Kamini Works.

———— ·X· ————

86

Intelligence Refutes Allegation of Enemy Hand in Subversive Activity in U.P.

F.28/Cong./42-B.1 September 14,1942

Secret

(Extract from a 'Brief note on subversive activity in the United Provinces for the fortnight ending Sept.14, 1942' recd. with C.I.O. Lucknow's No.L-3/AG/42 dt. 21.9.42)

The "rebellion", so far as mob violence is concerned, is practically finished. Even in outlying districts such as Almorah, where the movement took some time to develop, peace has now been restroed. Sporadic instances of sabotage continue but are carried out surreptitiously and there is increasing evidence of the advent of terrorist tactics and exploitation of the situation by criminals and politico-criminals. The movement is by no means finished. Students have very obviously not been to any degree subeued, the leaflet campaign continues strongly despite excellent counter-measures in a large number of districts, and it might be true to state that, though the campaign has by no means suppressed, there is little to show that any organized effort on a large scale to overthrow the administration is likely or possible. The unorganised and unco-ordinated nature of the movement is evident from the variety and number of the different leaflets which are appearing, and the impossibility of working up to any well planned and centrally controlled and directed renewal of the attack on the administration

is demonstrated by the fact that Congress leaders in hiding are handing themselves up, as also by a longer letter to H.E. the Viceroy written by Mohan Lal Saxena before his arrest. This long distribe amounts to nothing more or less than a tacit admission that the "rebellion" has failed. There is no evidence in the U.P. to support the theory that the campaign was directly inspired or controlled by the enemy and its agents, though it undoubtedly epitomises exactly what the enemy fifth column would have done. The Axis does not need to set up a fifth column in India. It exists par excellence already. The enemy radio however has been responsible for sponsoring the whole campaign, fostering it once it began, and even for directing its development. Virulent and potent anti-British propaganda combined with advocacy of violence and the spread of insidious and inflammatory stories about atrocities and dereliction of duty on the part of Police and military have done more than anything else to keep the movement alive and give it strength and direction. On the other hand, the exploits of Dr.Gairola of the Benares Hindu University demonstrate how impossible it is to prove a case against an obvious fifth columnist in this country and the necessity of dealing with all fifth columnists according to categories and to have them put out of the way according to a chronological schedule as the enemy threat develops.

———— ·X· ————

87

Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana

F.6/IS/42-II September 15, 1942

M.Worth, Secretary to the Hon'ble Resident for Rajputana reports in his confidential letter to Polindia, New Delhi dated Camp, Ajmer, August 29,1942, regarding the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement that since 9th August, the situation in Rajputana has been fairly quiet. In Jaipur, students went on strike but were pursuaded to return. Students at Pilani also went on strike. In Jodhpur, police had to make mild lathi charges; in Bharatpur, there was a partial hartial on August 10th but on 14th August there was

a complete hartal, students absented from colleges, public meetings and demonstrations were organised by the Praja Parishad workers. However, no attempt to use violence. In Udaipur, minor student demonstration, 150 persons were arrested.

The fortnightly report of Rajputana Agency for the fortnight ending September 15, 1942, refers to the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires between Kumber and Bharatpur, a disorderly demonstration in the city on September 2 in which over 4000 people headed by 5 women took part. On 3rd September hand-written posters in Hindi exhorted the use of right to over-throw the tyrannical government by cutting telegraph wires, burning post offices, Government building etc. were found pasted. As regards Jodhpur, the report adds that the disturbances in British India and Indian States gathered from all India enemy wireless broad-cast from students who returned from British India continued to keep up the excitement and anti-British sentiment. Copies of the pamphlets directing the people as already noted were freely distributed. Copy of an express letter dated September 16,1942, from Rajputana reports demonstration in Bayana on September 2, where in the absence of the Nazims, one of the mob held a mock trial in the Nizam's court. It also refers to the speeches made in Jaipur, dissuading men from enlist-ing in the army or giving any contributions to the war fund.

———— ·X· ————

88

Movement in Ajmer Merwar

No.F.24/Cong./42-A.1 September 15, 1942

Another report dated September 15, refers to the decla-ration of the P.C.C. and town Congress Committees of Ajmer, Beawar and Kerki unlawful and persons like Bhanwarlal Arya, Kala Ram Lodha and Daud Visharad of Beawar were arrested. There had been 40 arrests in Ajmer Merwar and D.I.R. upto September 22. Refers to no open defiance of the law and no hartal.

———— ·X· ————

89

Baroda Calmer

F.6/IS/42-II September 15, 1942

Baroda State calmer. Mills in the State not working excepting those in Navsari and Billimora. A private meeting of the workers of the Baroda mill Kamdar Mandal (Workers Union) was held on August 30th and decided that unless the proprietors agree to give them a promise that they would give them the wages for the period they did not work but they would not go back to the mills. Next day they again met and advised the workers to resume work. It is believed that a promise of some kind has been received by the workers in regard to their pay. It is reported that mill owners in Ahmedabad decided to keep their mills closed for such a period that the resulting loss of profits would amount to the sum which they would otherwise pay under the Excise Profit Tax and that the tax this year could be regulated so that while payment might(if profits increase) be more, they could in no case be less than the amount paid last year. A rapid improvement in the situation might result. This information was received from a mill manager and was confirmed by the Minister of the Baroda State as being within his knowledge, though it is understood not to be credited by those in authority in Ahmedabad. It is also rumoured that enemy broadcast have suggested a new method of derailing trains viz.by applying greasy substance on the railway line which would cause the engine wheels to slip. Situation is calm at Cambay where the mills are working to full. The situation in Baroda was said to be calmer by the report of September 30 though the attendance in schools and colleges continue to be poor. Some mills as the Baroda Spinning & Weaving Mill, Yamuna Mill and the Jagdish Mill started work.

C.K. Daly, Resident for Baroda and the Gujarat States reported in his letter dated October 7,1942 to Polindia, New Delhi that desultory picketing of the colleges and mills has continued. Several mills reopened, worked for some days but with the exception of one mill which is still working, closed again on October 6. The grounds for this are stated to be a hunger strike by girls picketing the mills. This, however, understood to be an excuse readily ceased upon by the owners who

are awaiting developments in the Ahmedabad mills. On 2nd and 3rd October, some fish plates and bolts were removed on the G.B.B. Railway on Nawadi bridge.Five persons were arrested.

———— ·X· ————

90

D.A.Brayden,C.I.D.Calcutta to Ahmed, Deputy Director Intelligence regarding programme of Congress Socialist Party

F.24/Cong./42-V September 15,1942

Many thanks for your D.O.No.24/Cong/42-V dated the 7th September 1942, regarding the programme thought to have been framed by the Congress Socialist Party and also the meeting which took place in Bombay on 9th August following the arrest of the leaders as reported by "C.B.4".

The agent has been questioned again about what happened at this meeting but it appears that he only arrived at it towards the end of the proceedings and could not give a description of the points which were discussed and decided. He says, however, that the persons he saw present there were Mohanlal Saxena, Gidwani, Ram Manohar Lohia, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Sadiq Ali, Pyarelal, Gopinath Bardoloi, Mihirlal Chatarji, Ram Sundar Singh and Kalipada Mukharji. The 12-point programme was actually announced at a meeting in Calcutta on 11th August and it seems unlikely that this programme could have reached Calcutta so soon if it had only been framed at the meeting in Bombay on the morning of the 9th. It is becoming clearer to me that what must have been discussed and decided upon at this meeting on the 9th was the additional paragraph containing "Gandhiji's plan in brief". This would explain Kiran Shankar Roy's attitude when he first heard of this more comprehensive programme. He had already printed copies of the twelve-point programme in Bengali but it required considerable persuasion both by Sadiq Ali and some other member from Bombay before he would believe that the full programme, including damage to Railways, Telegraphs etc., had the approval of the Congress High Command and Gandhi. He was, However, finally persuaded and arranged for the print-

ing of a leaflet by the B.P.C.C. containing the full programme.

I have asked the D.C.,S.B., if any of his agents can obtain any further information about this meeting on 9th August and will let you know further when I hear from him.

———— ·X· ————

91

Views on Mass Movement
(Extract)

F.24/Cong/42-V September 15, 1942

(Extract from a report received with Madras I.B. No.436/Camp/42,dated 15th September 1942, copy to C.I.O. Madras.)

MASS MOVEMENT:

We are strongly against it; in our propaganda and speeches we say it is suicidal and playing into the hands of the bureaucracy. But we cannot merely act as Government agents to stem the movement. As a people's party we must canalise feelings. Simultaneously we dem- and national Government, release of leaders, condemn repression etc. At Bombay during the AICC meeting I understand that the 6-stage programme had been first drafted by Achyut Patwardhan and Rammanohar Lohia, C.S.Pers, had been approved by Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitharamayya and circulated before the AICC meeting to canvass support and prepare the workers; Gandhi had approved most of the items (he had not accepted some) subject to strict non-violence, but in the Working Committee at Bombay Azad and Nehru strongly opposed items favouring of sabotage. Gandhi had mention- ed students, lawyers, press etc. in his speech and had intended to prepare a scheme the next morning before addressing a Workers' meeting which had been called. But meanwhile the arrest took place and the C.S.P. programme holds the field. Doubtless all sorts of agen- cies exploit the situation. In Madura for instance, Ramalingam and others of the so-called Fourth Inter- national have issued leaflets in our Party's name.

———— ·X· ————

92

Indiscriminate Police Firing in C.P. & Berar

F.28/Cong/42-B.5 September 16, 1942

C.I.D. report for the first half of September, 1942 for C.P. & Berar refers to the meeting in Jabbalpore on the 6th when plice was stoned while arresting certain persons. Eight rounds were fired, curfew was imposed and troops called in. On the following morning the police party was held up by a barricade in one of the thoroughfares of the city and was heavily stoned, the mob dispersed after lathi-charge. G.I.P. and B.N.Rly.booking offices were raided by the mob, records destroyed.In Saugar, police choki was set fire to and post offices record burnt following morning. 300 women picketed the courts. Large crowds collectèd all over the town and did damage to the telegraph and telephone wires. A collective fine of Rs. 5,000 was imposed on the affected localities and the whole amount recovered. Forest satyagraha incidents occurred in the rural localities where trees were cut down and the forest naka was burnt down. Processions and hartal at Wardha on the 9th, an attempt by students to hoist Congress flags on school buildings. The Commissioner of Nagpur who toured the Nagpur Division expressed the view that the people by and large hail the return of normal conditions and condemn the acts of arson and murder and loot, but adds"although there is outward calm practically everywhere signs are not wanting of sullenness and discontent under the surface". The report also refers to the planned acts of sabotage, the attempts to sabotage the main G.I.P. Railway line in Akola District. The saboteurs were able to derail a troop train fortunately without damage or casualties and collective fines were imposed on the villages in the vicinity. Several cases of telegraph, telephone and railway control wires being cut were reported. Arrangements have also been made for selected police officers to attend post offices to assist the post offices staff to examine letters and articles for censorship. Total arrests in the province were reported to be 4,859 majority of whom were arrested under D.I.R. 26(i)(b) and rule 129. Out of 525 persons who were convicted, 232 were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, 286 were weipped and 7 were fined. The large number of prisoners have necessitated the construction

of a temporary accommodation in 5 of the big jails and the province have over 1,000 prisoners. The total collective fines imposed in the province amount to 3,00,375. There were many cases of hunger-strikes in the jail demanding better food and certain facilities. Muslims as a community were exempted from payment of the fine but individual liability will be enforced. Government also instructed district Magistrates not to impose fines on individual Muslims purely on the ground that they failed actively to assist the authorities during the disturbances. Reports from Chimur and Ashti, however, suggest that Muslim goondas actively participated in the disturbances. Government received complaints of only five incidents - 2 of alleged rapes by sepoys, one in a village near Nagpur and the other in a village near Ashti. The first complaint was not substantiated and the second is under investigation. Two complaints were made of looting by individual police constables, one constable was suspended and the enquiry is in progress, another constable was dismissed.

The report for 1.9.42 refers to anti-British feelings being grown enormously in C.P. & Berar since launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the majority of the educated and semi-educated class according to the report now seem sincerely to desire an axis victory. It is widely contended that the police and military have been responsible for much indiscriminate firing and resentment is expressed for Government refusal to appoint enquiry committees. The report also refers to the morals of the police as good and states that "only very few instances have occurred, the full reasons for which are yet to be discovered of disinclination to obey orders during the recent rioting. The Government hoped that the war allowance for the police, grant of special pensions contemplated by government for the dependents of police officers who have lost their lives in the recent disturbances will make the lower ranks contented.

Abstract from Central Intelligence Report dated September 5,1942 - Refers to the arrests in Nagpur and Wardha for taking out processions and instigating people to non-cooperate. 120 persons were arrested in the Ashti murder and arson cases and from the investigation it appears that the Arti Mandal and Tukoji had instigated the incidents at Ashti and chimur. Tukoji was arrested. 171 persons were arrested in connection with the Chimur

murder and arson cases. Usual activities took place at Chhindwara in Chanda and Betul between 22nd to 28th of August. Nimar, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bhandara, Amraoti figured prominently in the disturbances during the period 22nd to 28th August. Processions were taken out, Plice Stations were attacked, telegraph and telephone wires cut and letter boxes burnt. In Bina, Saugor a trainee of the Railway Military Training School spoke at a public meeting and advised the audience not to join the army. In Amraoti at Benoda ring leaders were arrested, were got released by villagers. A constable was captured by them and his uniform removed and burnt. The mob armed with axis and lathis then approached the police station and a sub-Inspector with one head-constable and 3 constables met them on the road. In spite of the firing the mob advanced and could only be dispersed after the leader had been wounded. The police fired 40 rounds killing 5 and wounded 40. The police party consisting of the District Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate who went to Yaoli to make some arrests were attacked with lathis and stoned and had to return and open fire. The police took refuge in a house, but later decided to leave the village. This was done with difficulty and they were chased by a mob of several hundreds with swords, axis and lathis. It was not until the leader was shot that the mob dispersed. 47 rifles and revolvers shots were fired and known casualties were 5 dead and 20 wounded and all members of the police party were injured.

The processions on the 29th August at Nagpur shouted the slogans mainly Inqulab Zindabad, we are Free, Police are our Brothers, and give up Government Service. The students hoisted the Congress flag on the college building on the 26th, on the 28th when cries of Inqulab Zindabad raised by a student were not responded to by a section of the students at the Morris College, 4 lady students went to the extent of placing their bangles before the male students to belittle them. 18 girls were arrested at Wardha on 30.8.42 for distributing pamphlets.

In Jabbalpore on the 23rd Congress flags suddenly appeared over almost every Hindu-owned building in the State. Jain, Parwar and Sonar communities are doing their best to keep the agitation alive and it is now planned to carry the movement in the rural areas. In Saugor, a mob of 2,000 tried to hoist a Congress flag

on Garhakota station on 22nd August, the police opned fire killing one injuring two. In Raipur, the movement appears to be spreading and secret meetings were reported of students who were suspected to be planning sabotage including an attempt to interrupt the electric supply.

———— ·X· ————

93
Report Regarding Rajputana States

F.6/IS-42-II September 16, 1942

At Bharatpur on 16th September, one Girdhar Singh a former student of Intermediate College and now a Daffadar clerk in No.3 IAC.T.C. Lucknow arrested as he was found in possession of posters issued by the Revolutionary Party and the Forward Bloc to which he admitted he belonged. He said that his object in joining the Unit was to spread disaffection among the soldiers. Roshan Lal a close associate of Girdhar Singh was also arrested. The students of Intermediate College went on strike as a protest, but resumed attendance on the explanation of the Prime Minister. Reoti Sharma, President of the Praja Parishad at Bharatput suspended satyagraha indefinitely.

Jodhpur processions and distribution of bulletins reported. Some of the under-trials are said to have apologised. At Kotah, Miss Ram Pyari Shastri, Headmistress of the Girls High School who had been dismissed and externed from the State had a salutary effect on the State's employees who were secretly sympathising with the teachers; another teacher in the Kotah school was dismissed. Five boys have been arrested for protesting against the dismissal.

———— ·X· ————

94
Disturbances in Indore

F.8/15/42-II September 17, 1942

According to report of 17th September, disturbances revived with the mill population at Indore. Workers

of two mills suddenly struck work on August 31. One agitator who had recently visited Japan was arrested on the afternoon of 6th September. A man of little importance started satyagraha in the Sarafa Bazar. A crowd of people collected and police had to open fire to disperse. The girls shouted slogans in front of His Highness's Places. Rewa Mhow calmer. Usual processions at Neemuch. There was a communique issued by the Holker Government which said yesterday morning (September 2, 1942) there was a recrudescence of mob violence on a dangerous scale. A mob of mill hands numbering several thousands emerged at about 8 A.M. from the floor of Hukum Chand Mills carrying flags and armed with lathis, stones and pieces of iron which apparently they had taken into the mills with them when they joined for the night shift. The mob made a determined attack on the police who went to intercept them at the crossing of the Kachi Mohalla and the Jail Road. It became obvious that the mob had determined to overpower the police and magistrate and thousands of stones were hurled at the police which included the Inspector-General of Police, D.I.G. of Police and District Magistrate. The D.M. and nearly every officer and man of the police force received injuries. Finally the I.G. and the District Magistrate decided to open fire firing in all 22 rounds whereupon the mob broke. Three of the mob who fell were taken to hospital by the police and in all eight reported to have their injuries dressed. Most of the injuries caused by the firing were on the legs and no one was killed.

———— ·X· ————

95

Role of Jugantar Party in Bengal - Rezia Khatun Leads a Procession

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 17, 1942

(Extract from the Review of Revolutionary matters for the fortnight ending 17th September 1942).

Jugantar Party - (a) General State of the party.

As it has already been stated, the Jugantar Party was not a centralised organisation like the Anushilan

Samiti but consisted of independent groups, the leaders of which were bound together by a common policy. A common policy existed during the last terrorist campaign, but after the detenus were released from jail in the latter part of 1938 various defections occurred.

The Jugantar combination having been thus weakened, Surendra Mohan Ghosh of the Mymensingh Party, Manoranjan Gupta and Arun Guha of the Sankar Math Party, Barisal, Bhupendra Kumar Datta, and Rasik Lal Das of the Jessore-Khulna Party and Suresh Das with a small following of the Munshiganj Jugantar Party, and Sati Bhusan Sen of the Chittagong Party with a few members of that party who had not joined the Congress Socialist Party, kept together, made Calcutta their headquarters, and began to work on the programme of Dr. Jadu Gopal Mukharji, their leader in Ranchi.

As soon as the movement started Jyotish Bhaumik, Sudhir Ghosh, Hemanta Tarafdar and Adwaita Chandra Datta went into hiding, and have not been arrested. It is reported that they are finding it difficult to meet and that for this reason have been unable to formulate a systematic programme for the movement. The general plan, however, is to bring about a dead-lock in the administration of the Province.

Further information has been received of plans being hatched in Calcutta to make explosives and to throw corrosive acids on Europeans, particularly Sergeants of Police. Kiran Chandra Mukharji (now under arrest) is reported to have prepared acids and glass containers for committing such outrages, the reported plan being to throw them at police officers, particularly Sergeants, military lorries, thanas and post office buildings.

XXX XXX XXX

In August after the Congress movement began the Jugantar, R.S.P. and the Congress Socialist Party of Bakarganj district were reported to be co-operating in plans to send batches of students to burn and loot police stations and post offices in villages and to cut telegraph wires so that no help could be sent from headquarters and the sub-divisions. The leading Jugantar members of the district who consider that now is the time for a simultaneous uprising, have been conducting propaganda in favour of the Congress

mass movement, and one member was interviewing young men who might be employed on sabotaging public utility services. A joint board consisting of two members each from the local R.S.P., Jugantar Party (Sankar Math) and the group of Satindra Sen Gupta has been formed to carry out the Congress programme.

XXX XXX XXX

Members of the Jugantar Party are reported to have been responsible for an attempt to burn down a post office in Nalchiti and for the cutting of telegraph wires at various places in the district. Some members are talking about committing outrages on European officers.

XXX XXX XXX

In Mymensingh where the Jugantar Party is strong and controls the District Congress Committee advice was received from Calcutta in March that members should join the A.R.P., Civic Guards and similar organisations, with a view to capture them in the name of the Congress and utilise them against the Government, and also that a senior member should be placed in charge of the district volunteer corps.

XXX XXX XXX

A secret "Students' Council of Action" has been formed at Mymensingh on which there are three representatives of the Jugantar Party. The Jugantar Party decided to adopt two lines of action, one open and the other secret. The former would include processions, meetings, strikes and picketing, and would be carried out by unimportant members under the direction of Kshitish Chandra Ray Chaudhuri (Khadi Group) of Tippera, who was fomenting the Congress movement in the district in furtherance of the AICC resolution. The latter would include setting fire to Government buildings and records, removing railway lines, cutting telegraph and telephone wires, and capturing thanas in the interior, and would be worked out by .....

XXX XXX XXX

In Jamalpur Amulya Mohan De has received instructions to carry on the destructive programme of the Congress. Here Miss Rezia Khatun led a procession composed of both Hindus and Muslims and convened a meeting in furtherance of the Congress movement, and about 500

copies of a Bengali leaflet entitled "March to victory in India's struggle for independence" were found in a railway carriage at Singjhani Station on the 9th September.

XXX XXX XXX

In March a few members of the group of Sukhendu Bikash Datta of the C.S.P., were reported to be contemplating a dacoity in respect of Khasmahal money, but the plan did not mature. This group issued a highly inflammatory leaflet containing anti-British and anti-war propaganda and also criticism of the C.P.I.'s attitude of help in the war effort. In May it is reported, Swami Jnanananda visited Chittagong from Dacca, suggested the acceptance of the Forward Bloc ideology by the local members, the collection of arms and ammunition from the British for an armed revolution, and the organisation of raids at several places on the scale of the Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930, after which the party should welcome the Japanese as liberators with whom Indians would come to a satisfactory understanding.

XXX XXX XXX

In June a member of Noakhali and another from Chittagong visited the rural area of Noakhali to spread anti-British feeling amongst the masses. The local members were reported to be trying to collect fire-arms.

XXX XXX XXX

In July a report was received that the Bogra Jugantar Party was carrying on recruitment. In August Jatindra Mohan Ray sent instructions from Calcutta to Anil Banarji alias Bhaju and others to launch the Congress movement at Bogra in co-operation with the local students.

XXX XXX XXX

———— ·X· ————

96

Intelligence Finds No Link Between Axis Agents and Congress Workers

F.28/Cong/42-B-I September 18, 1942

A secret note from H.J. Thom. A.I.G. Police, C.I.D. U.P. marked to Chief Secretary dated September 18, 1942, in which the following para occurs "there is no evidence to prove directly controlled enemy activity in India except in so far as the Axis Embassy in Afghanistan have financed agents for work in this country and except in so far as the Japanese Consulate in Calcutta had set up 5,000 column agents amongst members of the Forward Bloc and Terrorist Party in Bengal. All that I would say is that, despite continuous and very numerous enquiries in every possible direction, we have not been able to establish that there are agents in U.P. working under direct inspiration from the enemy or financed directly by the Axis powers.... My suggestion therefore, is that the activities of Axis powers in connection with the recent disturbances have been almost entirely confined to propaganda on the wireless. It has assisted Gandhi in securing support for his proposed campaign, but it subsequently was most successful and still in fostering and promoting the movement by indicating the lines on which it should be conducted and by spreading most alarming and insidious reports regarding atrocities and derelection of duty on the part of police and the army.

———— ·X· ————

97

Underground Activities in Delhi

F.24/Cong/42-B-I September 18, 1942

A copy of secret report dated 18.9.42 by A.C.I.O. Delhi has the following information. It is worth noticing that now the entire membership of the Congress have given up their faith in non-violence. They are now staunch worshippers of violence. Congressmen like Premjas Rai, Satya Vati were of the opinion that this time their propaganda work will be run

on the most efficient lines, as elaborate preparations had been made long before the movement and the Congress Committees in different localities have their own cyclostyled machines installed at most undetectable places. Old terrorists were also giving them a helping hand. These Congressmen now call the Government supporters quizzlings and traitors.

———— ·X· ————

98

Crucial Decision at Wardha on Narendra Dev's Advice

F.24/Cong./42-V September 19, 1942

According to an extract from the C.I.O. Nagpur No.186 quoting a reliable report it was stated: V.R. Kalappa stating in private conversation that during his visit to Wardha at the time of the Working Committee meeting held there prior to the Bombay AICC session. He learnt that the Civil Disobedience programme of cutting telegraph and telephone wires was suggested to Gandhi by Acharya Narendra Dev and that Narendra Dev was successful in persuading Gandhi to accept the view that it was a non-violent programme involving no loss of life. It is presumed by Kalappa that Nehru was also won over by Narendra Dev to accept this view. But according to Kalappa's information Gandhi's instructions at the Bombay AICC session were confined to strict abandonment of legal practice by pleaders and the persuading of government servants to resign. Kalappa also met Mahadev Desai early in August in order to ascertain Gandhi's opinion about a railway strike as a part of the movement. Desai informed me that he should be prepared for a strike but that final orders would be issued later. He has not yet received any such orders. A message from Bombay probably Congress Socialist visited Kalappa about a week ago to persuade him to declare a strike on the B.N. Railway, but Kalappa did not agree.

Office circular memo to all C.I.Os, the Director C.I.D. H.D. (September 19, 1942) asked them to give him information besides what had already been asked for on the following points:

(1) Evidence of enemy action, if any, with the disturbances;

(2) Advance information of any change of direction in the attention of those staging the disturbances - such as for instance a turn over to non-violent and non-cooperation campaign, sense of which are already becoming apparent in certain provinces. He emphasised that he has no pre-conceived ideas - apart from the general responsibility of Congress for what has happened- nor have I an particular theory to prove; what I want is a concise statement of facts in so far as they may be ascertainable which will enable a considered judgement to be formed as to the nature and extent of the preparations made by various organisations concerned and of the co-ordinating and directing machinery which gave effect to and developed whatever preparations had been made.

Nothing was recovered during the searches made at Bombay after the arrest of Congress leaders. Offices of the AICC at Gowalia Tank and Congress House were alwo searched.

———— ·X· ————

99

Serious Trouble Erupts in C.P. & Berar

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV September 19, 1942

(C.P. Police Abstract dated 19.9.1942 on the political situation.)

Trouble started again on the 6th as a result of enemy broadcasts fixing that date for a revival of lawlessness. This was most serious in Jubbulpore whre the police had to open fire and in Saugor. Apart from this there was a certain amount of sabotage of telegraph and telephone lines and some forest satyagraha in a few districts, while a forest chowki, a municipal office and records of one post office were burnt.

In Nagpur there was comparatively little activity during the week. Three persons were arrested for

distributing leaflets, shouting slogans and addressing a small meeting. In spite of picketing, attendance at schools and colleges improved. Picketers were dispersed on the 7th and Law College students decided to observe 'hartal' indefinitely. Chemicals with an offensive small forced the City College to close early on the 7th and there was an attempt the same day to set fire to the chemical store room in the Science College. Leaflets and posters continued to come to notice and one gave news from Axis broadcasts about disturbances in India.

In Wardha and Hinganghat 'Independence Day' was observed on the 9th by holding processions. Fifty-four persons were arrested in Wardha on the 9th and ll women on the llth when another procession was taken out. A few cyclostyled leaflets, a copy of "Harijan Bulletin" Nos. l and 2 and a copy of an article "Civil Disobedience versus Rebellion" by J.C. Kumarappa came to notice. Tikdoji's followers continued to take out occasional processions in Hinganghat.

In Chhindwara district railway telegraphic communication was interfered with in Bhatoria Station-house and the Tahsildar of Amarwara's house was stoned. A number of leaflets and news sheets posted in Calcutta came to notice in the post. In Seoni on the 6th a procession and meeting were held to protest against a collective fine, rumoured to have been imposed on Hindus only. Persons who tried to organise further processions on the 7th and 8th were arrested and a 'hartal' was observed on the 8th. One man was arrested for shouting slogans in Kanhiwara bazar.

In Betul three persons who took out a procession shouting slogans and two who were trying to revive interest in the movement were arrested.

In Jubbulpore district there was a recrudescence of trouble starting on the 6th. "Quit India" and other slogans were found chalked everywhere in the city and cantonments, a hartal was observed, and gangs of small boys indulged in rowdyism, stoned cars and deprived passerby of European headgear which they burnt. At a meeting in the evening, Khubchand Jain condemned repressive measures and gave exaggerated figures of casualties inflicted during the movement. The meeting was then dispersed and eleven persons

arrested, the police being stoned. Two processions in other areas were dispersed. Later the police were attacked at two places and fired eight rounds injuring two persons. A curfew order was imposed and the Civil Disturbance Column called out. On the 7th snatching of hats and stoning of police and troops continued, a road was barricaded, a railway booking office was looted and Rs.164 taken and its records destroyed, and a post-box was removed. The crowd responsible for the barricade was dispersed with lathis. On the 8th there was some hooliganism and a telephone connection was cut and on the 10th a procession was dispersed. On the 4th nut - bolts were removed and the control were cut between Madan-Mahal and Bheraghat stations. On the 8th the telegraph wire to Niwas (Mandla) was cut in Barela Station-house and on the 10th the Nagpur telephone line near Gwarighat. In Katni daily satyagraha continued and processions and meetings were dispersed. Five sepoys of the 47th Auxiliary Pioneer Battalion were among the satyagrahis. On the 6th and 7th, respectively, attempts were made to burn the post and municipal offices.

In Mandla the telephone wire was again cut near Pindrai on the 4th night.

In Hoshangabad, there was no serious trouble but minor activities occurred in a number of places. On the 6th, telegraph wires were cut for the third time near Bohani Railway Station and collective fines totalling Rs.1,800 were imposed on four villages. 'Hartals' were observed in Hoshangabad and Itarsi on the 9th and 11th to mark the completion of the first month of the movement. The Congress flag was hoisted on school buildings in Hoshangabad and Piparia. Leaflets were distributed in a number of places and several arrests were made of persons who were found in possession or distributing them. Small meetings were held in Timarni and Vankheri and persons who gave objectionable speeches were arrested.

The only activity in Bilaspur district was the distribution of Congress leaflets in Akaltara. These had apparently been brought by Dattartya Naik of Harda (Hoshangabad). Some searches of local were made in this connection and leaflets were recovered from one person.

In Bhandara district, forest satyagraha was carried out on two occasions at Agri on the 4th and 7th by batches of three and two persons who were arrested. Persons who moved about shouting objectionable slogans were arrested. Several leaflets came to notice and one Sub-Inspector received a threatening letter from members of the Hindustan Red Army.

In Balaghat district, upto the 5th September, there was an attempt to revive forest satyagraha which was frustrated by the arrest of four persons.

There was little activity in Amraoti district during the last fortnight, except for the distribution of leaflets calling for support for the movement. One of these announced that according to the Saigon Radio, reprisals would commence on the 3rd September with the murder of European officials. Speakers who instigated participation in the movement at a few small meetings were arrested. On the 10th night, railway telegraph wires between Amraoti and Bhandara were cut. Investigation disclosed that persons responsible for causing damage to the Wardha river bridge on the 17th August were residents of Warkhed, the home of Takdoji Maharaj.

In Akola district, railway telephone wires were cut between Murtizapur and Karanja on the 5th. On the 7th furniture and records of a school at Beora were burnt and on the 13th a rail was removed from the track about five miles from Akola, but this was detected before the mail arrived. Students of the Gujarati High School at Akola left work on the 8th and on the 9th attempted to take out procession to compel students of other schools to observe 'hartal'. They were dispersed and other schools were not affected. Y.R. Oke, who resigned his appointment as Public Prosecutor, announced a meeting on the 9th but no one turned up. An attempt was made to take out a procession on the 11th but nobody joined the organiser. The owner of the Swatram Mills instigated mill-workers to go on strike on the 8th on the arrest of S.P. Papadia, a Congress shareholder. The strike was of short duration. Five small meetings were held during the week and speakers were arrested. A number of leaflets came to notice instigating the cutting of wires and the burning of Government buildings and urging Government servants to resign. One printed leaflet issued by the "Labour Trotsky Party", contained

anti-Government and anti-Soviet propaganda.

In Buldana district, a man who approached the Tengaon Station-house with the intention of hoisting the Congress flag was arrested. Six other Congressmen who had also conspired to do this were subsequently arrested.

In Yeotmal district, five Congress meetings were held at which objectionable anti-Government speeches were given by a number of persons.

———— ·X· ————

100
Trouble in Patiala Forces

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 19, 1942

Fortnightly report dated September 19, 1942 refers to the trouble in the Patiala States forces which originated with the 1st Rajindra Lancers on August 24 when forces refused to go on parade and later had to be put under arrest for their indiscipline behaviour including the shouting of Inqualab Zindabad on being taken before the C.O. The same evening 96 men of Divisional Reconnaissance Regimental Training Centre and 13 men of the Wireless Section started shouting slogans and demanding release of the arrested men. On August 25 reinforced by 9 more men of the Divisional RR T.C., this band of 181 men marched in procession under a Congress Flag to the town, speeches were made alleging that the officers had ill-treated their men and misappropriated their pay. During their parades they were warmly welcomed by the Praja Mandals and local Congress men of whom Dr. Kishori Lal and Madan Lal are suspected of having instigated the Mutiny. The ring-leaders were later on arrested and are being tried by a Court Martial.

———— ·X· ————

101

Revolt Spreads to Rewa and Kotah

F.8/IS/42-II September 22, 1942

(Extract from a letter from Superintendent, Government Railway Police, Raipur to the D.I.G. of Police (Crime Rly. C.I.D. C.P.)

After enumerating some of the incidents at the railway station where the people gathered in front of a compartment occupied by Europeans and raised slogans like 'Chop off their noses', 'drive out the British' etc. distribution of printed leaflets etc. It adds the C.D. Movement in Rewa State is being advanced in the Bania by means of a fund called Dharmada - the money for this fund is collected from people during business transactions; money being allowed to accumulate in lakhs in certain commercial centres of the State. Dharmada funds are primarily meant for being spent over some religious object. The Banias are now misusing this money in keeping the C.D. Movement aloof. For the present Banias and Brahmins who form the Maharaja's party are taking active part in the movement. The Thakars who form the back-bone of the last C.D. movement are so far keeping aloof and they have no sympathy for the deposed Maharaja Gulab Singh who had harmed them in all possible manner to paralyse the C.D. Movement in Rewa State. It is essential to seize these funds wherever they exist and the State police, I believe, has already moved in the matter.

Then there are three telegrams exchanged between the Resident Central India to Polindia and from Polindia to Rajputana regarding the requisition of troops of Crown Police. The first telegram dated September 22 says Wooldridge Wires that he is having trouble at Rewa where organised disturbances of serious nature are expected. He has asked if a Company of the Crown Police can be made available on demand. Kindly repeat your reply to him at Satna as Rewa line is cut. The second telegram from Polindia to Rajputana repeated Central India and Wooldridge Satna dated September 22 says, "Reference Central India's telegram. Unless you consider retention of Company of Crown Representative Police at Kotah essential, please arrange for it to be ready to leave for Rewa by Satna immediately on demand from Central India or

Wooldridge also instruction to arrange for similar despatch of such force if any scope from Neemuch. Another telegram from Polindia to Central India repeat Wooldridge Satna dated September 22, 1942, 11.15 p.m. says "Crown Representative Police could not reach Satna from Kotah or Neemuch another under 48 hours. In the event of pressing necessity you should requisition troops. Suggest your telegraphing military to be ready to despatch troops immediately on demand by Wooldridge or yourself.

Another telegram dated August 23 from Central India to Indore to Polindia said Major Wooldridge Administrator have sent following message to headquarters Allahabad Brigade. Rewa State reports serious disturbance which may necessitate calling in troops. Grateful if you will comply with his request made to you direct if urgent situation demands. Another message from Kotah came informing Polindia repeat Rajputana that there are 50 men available at Neemuch. No cipher holder present at Neemuch. Resident Central India wrote to Polindia september 26 said that they have received a letter from Wooldridge saying that though situation seems to be improving, administration are handicapped by shortage of police and the District Magistrate had difficulty in enforcing an order under Section 144 and the administration has been somewhat shaken by the recent action taken. Wooldridge requested that one Company of Crown Police be sent to Rewa as soon as possible and they shall remain there as soon as the decision in the case against the Maharaja is reached. Meanwhile kindly arrange to send hundred men from wherever available. It is not essential that all of them should be armed.

———— ·X· ————

102

Review of Revolutionary Activities in Bengal
An Official Assessment

F.28/Cong/42-A.I September 24, 1942

On the 23 AICC members six, who were known to have been supporting Gandhi's move from before, were arrested on their return from Bombay. It was seen, however, that all with the exception of Kamani Kumar Datta,

M.L.C., of Tippera, Sarat Chandra Mukharji of Birbhum, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar of Nadia, Upendra Nath Ray of Pabna and Pramatha Guha of Faridpur threw themselves wholeheartedly into the movement and were busy working up the people in their respective spheres by constant touring, holding meetings and demonstrations, and issuing leaflets in co-operation, in some cases, with the various subversive elements which had so long been waiting for a lead from the Congress. Although the open resolution laid stress on non-violence, it soon came to be known that Gandhi did not see anything wrong in creating chaos, and his "plan in brief", was confirmed on the 23rd August by a messenger sent from the Congress Central Council of Action to Kiran Sankar Ray. Students and revolutionaries were soon at work giving effect to the various programmes, issued over the name of the AICC and B.P.C.C. Gandhi's "Quit India" slogan caught on rapidly and people were involved in the name of Gandhi and other leaders to "destroy the tyrannical Government" and in the effort to do so, to "do or die".

xx xx xx

A Council of Action for Bengal consisting of (1) Annada Chaudhuri (Khadi), (2) Bimala Ganguli (Congress), (3) Makhan Lal Sen (Congress) and (4) Kalipada Mukharji was formed and money raised and workers despatched to all districts.

xx xx xx xx

District Councils of Action were also formed at the instance of the Congress in Calcutta, Bankura, Vishnupur (Bankura), Howrah, Asansol (Burdwan), Nadia, Dacca and Barisal.

xxx xxx xxx

The Bengal Council of Action selected 18 Inspectors to act as liaison officers with the districts. In the following districts organisation work was made the charge of the persons noted against each:-
(1) Midnapore - Tamluk - Ajoy Mukherji (hiding) and Satish Samanta, Contai - Bhima Charan Patra, Sadar-Mohini Pati, (2) Hooghly - Atulya Ghosh and Prafulla Sen, (3) 24-Parganas - the lieutenants of Charu Bhandari, (4) Nadia - Haripada Chatterji, M.L.A. (hiding), (5) Barisal - Suresh Gupta, (6) Tippera-Dr.Nripen Basu, Sarat Chakrabartti, Labanya Lata

Chanda, (7) Dacca - Miss Jamuna Ghosh, sister of Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, and (8) Murshidabad - workers of Jangipur Khadi Centre.

xxx xxx xxx

In the third week of August AICC Bulletin for Workers was noticed in circulation in Calcutta. This advocated non-violent raids and dispossessing the Police of their weapons and suggested the following line of work:- (1) every one of the 7 lakh villages to organise meetings for the declaration freedom, (2) disobedience of Government authority, specially the Defence of India Rules, illicit manufacture of salt and stoppage of recruitment and war contribution, (3) organisation of Freedom and Fraternity marches,and (4) thanas and tehsils and district/headquarters to be put out of action through non-violence. Another Congress leaflet, headed ..... (Directions of the Congress to the people of the country) and issued in the name of the B.P.C.C., urges the people to unite, cut off all train, telephone and telegraph connections, capture the post offices, thanas, subdivisional courts, to snatch away arms from the thana police and destroy them, close schools and colleges and thus paralyse Government between the 9th and 15th September. Another leaflet issued by the B.P.C.C. was ..... (India's Struggle for Independence) the substance of which is that everybody should try to parayluse Government and stop its source of income and that rails should be removed.

xxx xxx xxx xxx

Kiran Shankar Ray's attitude.- As a result of discussion with Sadik Ali who visited Kiran Shankar Ray on the 19th August, the latter, despite his belief in the unwisdom of the present movement, is reported to have agreed to take part in it, provided non-violence was observed. He is also reported to have said that after the recent hooliganism, a reaction had set in among the students, and that district workers should refrain from sabotaging telegraph, telephone and railway communications.

xxx xxx xxx

Financial support. - A Dacca Congressman who attended the AICC meeting at Bombay is reported to have said on his return that the members of the Working Committ-

ee obtained a large sum of money through G.D. Birla from the Bombay Mill Owners' Association, the members of which were extremely displeased with the policy of the supply Department. He also said that Congressman believed that they could carry on the movement with the mill owners' money till next winter, by which time Britain domination over India would come to an end. Reports have been received from various sources that the Marwaris in general, and Birla Bros. in particular, have been financing the movement in Bengal.

xxx xxx xxx

Plans followed in districts. - In conformity with the grant of district autonomy as regards the move- - ment, most districts evolved their own plans of work which are based on Instructions to P.C.Cs. from the AICC but modified to suit local circumstances. In Tippera Dr. Nripen Basu, Secretary, D.C.C., issued a 14 item programme headed Bandemataram, and Congress workers decided to launch the movement with a meeting in the Town Hall on the 15th August. In Dacca the AICC programme brought by delegates from Bombay was locally printed and circulated. A Council of Action was formed at Dacca and a War Council at Munshiganj under Dr. Indra Narayan Sen (Congress) who mobilised terrorist support to carry out acts of sabotage. The Faridpur D.C.C. was reported to have received Rs.1000 from the B.P.C.C. to meet the expenses of the movement, and Nani Gopal Bhattacharji of Chaocha (Secretary, Gopalganj B.D.C.C.) brought a large stock of Congress leaflets from Calcutta. District Congress Committee in Tippera, Dacca, Bakarganj, Burdwan and Bankura issued their own programmes of action. In Nadia Haripada Chatarji, M.L.A. (member AICC), who attended the Bombay meeting made extensive tour in the district to organise the movement. In Dinajpur copies of propaganda leaflets received from Calcutta were circulated to all Primary Congress Committees for action. An open Congress meeting was held at Contai in Midnapore on the 17th August at which the AICC programme was approved.

It is well known that the aim of the Congress was a simultaneous struggle all over the country and that instructions were given to the effect that simultaneous raids should take place in the best organised tehsils in the province and should culminate in raids on district headquarters. In Bengal this plan was

unworkable. The mob demonstrations at Beldanga in Murshidabad district, at Bolpur and Dubrajpur in Birbhum district, at Mahisadal in Midnapore district, at Harishchandrapur in Malda, at Jamalpur in Burdwan, at Balurghat in Dinajpur district and at Siliguri in Darjeeling district were not simultaneous, not did they lead to the paralysis of the local administration. It is noteworthy that these are all places where there was no special armed force quartered.

In Bengal the first manifestations of the movement were marked by intense student activities, but there was a lull by the third week of August and enthusiasm had to be whipped up by the issue by B.P.C.C. of a week's programme to be observed by all districts from the 9th to 15th September. After this, attacks were directed on defenceless post offices, and telegraph Wires were cut extensively in the districts of Dacca, 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly Midnapore and Bakarganj. Rails were also removed in Comilla, Rampurhat, 24-Parganas, and one or two other places but nothing like a deadlock in communications was produced. Industrial strikes, where these were attempted, were in all cases very shortlived and were also mixed up with economic issues.

Elements of population involved.- Those taking part in the present movement are predominantly Hindu students, on whom the Congress and the terrorist leaders have always depended. They have always regarded themselves as the "Army of Freedom" and psychologically they are emotional and impressionable youths in whom the revolutionary urge seems to have come to stay. Teachers and professors have played no inconsiderable part in encouraging them. There is evidence to show that teachers in private institutions have participated in secret dissemination of Congress leaflets. Teachers have pretended inability to attend classes on account of picketing, thus directly contributing to the closing of schools and the release of students for the Congress programme. At some places the protests of Muslim students against frequent interference with their studies were not heeded by the school and college authorities, who are in almost all caste Hindus with a natural bias towards the Congress.

Women have not played a conspicuous part in the movement yet, but intercepted correspondence shows

that many are worked up to a fever pitch of emotion. The women workers of Midnapore district held a Conference at Tamluk on the 11th August, in which they passed resolutions expressing complete faith in Gandhi's leadership and their determination to fulfil his mission. The necessity of organising a Women's Congress Committee was also urged. Leading female workers who gave trouble in 1920 attended the Conference. A few women have been attending meetings, taking part in processions, or picketing schools,in Birbhum (including the Head Mistress of the Rampurhat Girls' School), Dacca, Barisal, Bankura, Siliguri (Darjeeling), Jessore, Dinajpur, Bogra, Rajshahi and Gaibandha (Rangpur).

Suspension of newspapers. - The restrictions imposed by Government on the publication of news about the Congress movement resulted in pressure being brought to bear upon Hindu-owned papers in Calcutta to stop publication and threats of mischief were held out, should proprietors not stop publication, or defy the restrictions. The Hindu newspapers could not afford to lose their business, but at the same time, were anxious to save face with the supporters of the movement who formed their clientele. The demand on their "patriotism" in these circumstances resulted in the temporary suspension of the following Calcutta newspapers from the 21st August: -(1) Amrita Bazar Patrika (2) Telegraph, (3) Ananda Bazar Patrika,(4) Daily Basumati, (5) Advance, (6) Bharat, (7) Jugantar, (8) Matribhumi, (9) Hindusthan Standard, (10) Biswamitra, (11) Dily Krishak, (12) Lokamanya, (13) Pratyaha and (14) Jagriti. This was part of an all-India Nationalist Press gesture, and they began to reappear on the 31st August, the last to resume publication being the Hindusthan Standard on the 7th September.

Tendencies towards violence. - Kiran Sankar Ray's repeated insistence on refraining from acts of sabotage and other forms of violence, was not heeded, not even by the Khadi group, - Gandhi's own party. There was no disposition to deprive the movement of such a sure weapon by which youthful revolutionaries might help to keep up enthusiasm for the movement. For instance, at a meeting of the Munshiganj (Dacca) War-Council held on the 20th August, a proposal to desist from acts of sabotage was turned down and the AICC programme was adopted in toto including interference

with means of communication and raids on Government's narve centres. Acids have been thrown on passengers in trams in Calcutta and on Europeans coming out of a cinema. Information has been received that the Congress prisoners in the Barisal Jail have a plan to induce the ordinary convicts and under-trial prisoners to break open the jail and escape.

General. - The constant arrests of members of the Congress and the secret parties who have been instigating and participating in the movement, the raids on presses and temporary Congress headquarters in Calcutta, and the searching and sealing up of several Congress offices in the districts, have undoubtedly prevented the movement from reaching anything approaching the organised scale that was intended. Central control of the movement is weak because it has been difficult for the leaders who are at large to meet and formulate plans, and there is no close network of Congress organisations throughout the province. Various parties have formed a temporary alliance for conducting the movement, but signs of mutual mistrust have already appeared. Except in the parts of West and North Bengal where the peasantry has been roused and where extensive operations may yet prove necessary, the movement may be said to have lost some of its vigour, but there is no sign that the rebelliousness of the political classes and the anti-British feeling roused by them among the Hindu public have diminished in any way.

xxx xxx xxx

It is noteworthy that the places where violent demonstrations by peasants have occurred are in those parts of Bengal where the population is predominantly Hindu or where there are colonies of aboriginals. There have been no violent demonstrations by mobs of peasants in Eastern Bengal where the population is predominantly Moslem. In Midnapore, particularly in the Contai and Tamluk sub-divisions, meetings have been held in many villages, where it has been impossible for the police to prevent them. The result has been the stirring up of the peasantry to a dangerous pitch of excitement. On the 8th September a mob of 5,000 mostly Mahisya (Hindu) cultivators, who had looted a boat-load a rice and were attempting to loot a rice-mill, attacked a party of police, who were compelled to open fire, in a village in the Tamluk subdiv-

ision. On the 20th a mob of 5,000 assembled near the Bhagwanpur police-station in the Contai sub-division but were persuaded to disperse by the police, who were, however, subsequently surrounded by a mob of 1,000 when they went to arrest one of the student ringleaders Again, on the same date, when a Congress camp was raided, a mob of 1,000 assembled and had to be dispersed by a lathi charge. On the 22nd a mob of 2,000 who were obstructing the repairing of breaches in a road in Contai sub-division attacked a party of police, who were compelled to open fire.

XXX XXX XXX

———— ·X· ————

103

Civil Disobedience Movement in Eastern States

F.6/IS/42-II September 24-25, 1942

Another letter dated September 24, 1942, from Eastern States Calcutta to Polindia, New Delhi, reports that the population at Talcher completely repented of their share in the disturbances. More than Rs.21,000 out of total of Rs.24,000 inflicted as collective fines having been recovered. In another letter dated September 25, C.P. Hencock reports about the situation at Nilgiri as quiet but unsatisfactory. Boycott and seditious speeches appear to be general though there are no processions. Minor damage done on 24th to a bridge two miles north of the Nilgiri town presumably restrict operation of the joint police.

———— ·X· ————

104

Civil Disobedience Movement in Rajputana States

F.6/IS/42-II September 25, 1942

The Civil Disobedience Movement continued at Alwar, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kishengarh, Kotah, Shahpura and Udaipur. Forcible observation of hartal at Bharatpur, slapping of a boy by a constable which led

to minor riot at Bharatpur, processions at Jaipur and issuing of certain posters, picketing of shops at Kotah, throwing of a burning substance in the office of the Principal of the Harcourt College, possibility of a strike in the Railway Colony at Kotah due to the shortage of grain, putting out the electric street lights, are some of the highlights. At Bharatpur attempts were made to rope in the Muhammaden in the movement, but they have so far kept aloof. The Headmistress of the Girl's School at Kotah was dismissed and externed. The certain bulletins alleged to have been issued by the Civil Resisters have been appended. This report is dated September 25, 1952. In continuance of this, there is another letter informing the Crown Representative that Binny's Maharaja and Minerva Mills in Bangalore city have gone on strike from 21st September for vitally explained reasons. Strike appears to be purely political and is confined to textiles. There have been some instances of cutting of telegraph wires in Bangalore, students still picketing in Mysore and Bangalore.

———— ·X· ————

105

Kiran Shankar Roy is reported to have Accepted Rs. Two Lakhs from CWC to Organize Disturbances

F.28/Cong/42-A-I September 26, 1942

It is understood from conversations with more than one person connected with the present Congress agitation, that Kiran Shankar Roy did receive a large sum of money - reported to be two lakhs - from the Congress Working Committee in July, for the purposes of organizing the present disturbances.

This money was handed over to Kiran Shankar Roy by Gagan Vehari Lal Mehta, president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, and managing director of Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. Mehta is a close friend of Gandhi, Birla and of the Congress Working Committee members. Moreover, for purely commercial reasons, Mehta has been nursing a grievance against the restrictive measures of the Government of India.

It is to be remembered that the schemes for the automobile-and-aircraft manufacturing sponsored by Walchand Hirachand and G.L. Mehta of Scindia Steam Navigation Co. were turned down by the Central Government. This rejection made Mehta very much disaffected against the Government; and he began to make friendly overtures to Gandhi. So, it is no improbable that Mehta has joined hands with the Congress in encouraging and promoting the lawless movement, out of vindictiveness.

———— ·X· ————

106

Sullivan, Under Secretary, C.P. Government claims having killed 25 Persons

F.24/Cong/24-VII September 27, 1942

At Bharatpur 30 miles from Gorakhpur police under the direction of the notorious Collector Moss who made himself famous by awarding 4 years imprisonment to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru made a bon fire of khadi stocks worth 8 to 10,000 belonging to the local Bhandar. He also caused the Tri-colour flying on the Bhandar to drop by gun shots. Again this I.C.S. officer got a Khadi Bhandar at Mirava in Bihar looted. When the Bihar Government called upon his explanation the naughty Moss is reported to have said "No explanation is necessary. I am an European officer. I have every right to go anywhere I like and behold the prestige of the British Empire in any way I like. At Nagpur where curfew order had been promulgated during early disturbance days and a few posters to that effect were struck on a few places in the city late at night when most of the people have gone to bed. In the morning milk-maid and mill hands, newspaper boys etc. who could hardly read these instructions were mercilessly shot down. Sullivan, Under Secretary to the Govt. of C.P. who was directed this slaughter boasted at the club in the evening that he had jolly good fun having shot down 24 niggers himself.

———— ·X· ————

107
Hired Ruffians' Atrocities on Chimur Citizens

F.24/Cong/24-VII September 27, 1942

The following is an action of barbarians at Chimur as given out by Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Principal, Siksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, in a statement issued just before his arrest. "The story of repression organised by the Government of India during the last four weeks is extremely sad and shameful, but the acts of military at Chimur seem to have surpassed all limits of descency and humanity. Chimur is a village of about 5,000 people in Chanda District. The village organised a prabhat pheri on the 16th August. The local Congressmen were arrested even before the pheri. There was naturally unusual excitement. The police beat a few children a abused Congress leaders like Gandhiji and Pt.Jawaharlal Nehru in foul terms. When the people protested the police opened fire and a few children were killed and wounded. This infuriated the public and three officers and one constable were murdered by the mob. The dak bangalow policeman and the village school were set on fire too. The arrested Congressmen were later released temporarily and they tried their best to pacify the mob. When information reached Chanda the Deputy Commissioner with about 40 police men went to Chimur the next day. Later on more military force was called from Nagpur, about 75 Tommies and 250 Maharas. The atrocities that followed seemed incredible. The soldiers forcibly entered the houses, dragged out and arrested the males, violated the modesty of women. It was forcible regime of terror. The arrested persons were hurled together in a cattle compound where they had to pass 8 days in mud and filth. 4 machine guns were also brought but thanks to the torrential rains they could not work. This barbaric repression continued for about three days. Men and women starved and were homeless, collective fine of Rs.1 lakh was imposed and realised with utmost haste and by loot.

According to this bulletin the C.P. Government employed every morning or previous evening ruffians in such number depending upon the announced or unannounced programme of the people's side for cordening, lathi charges and free for belabouring or

whipping arrested or detained people. Also in breaking into shops and private houses under a variety of excuses during a tense hour or half hour and causing wanton damage or helping themselves. They are paid 10 annas a day and supplied with the police uniform and a lathi to be returned the next day.

———— ·X· ————

108

Achyut Patwardhan as Author of 'Quit India' Bulletin

F.24/Cong/24-VII September 27, 1942

Regarding the issuing of and the circulation of the bulletin the freedom struggle front "a copy of which is given verbatim" Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Rajasthan, N.W.F.P., C.I.D. offices did not seem to have noticed it. Special Branch, Bombay C.I.D. however informed Ahmed "that its author is probably Achyut Patwardhan, the Congress Socialist. This view is based on the information of one of my officers who has heard Patwardhan specially on one or two occasions.

The Indian struggle for independence according to this bulletin started in 1857. It received its final orientation with the advent of Gandhi and his gospel of non-violence. It accuses the British Government to rule over this country by their well-known weapon of "divide and rule". It calls this struggle of India's unarmed masses against the British Imperialism armed to the teeth and engaged the whole world over in blood, lust and heat, masquerating as saviours of world democracies and of human values, as an unequal contest. It condemns the British Government for having put behind bars India's revered leaders, Gandhi the apostle of non-violence and the greatest friend the British people ever had.

We are launching upon this deviation, the bulletin adds of conducting Quit India under a situation the difficulties of which need not be recounted. With the whole Indian press gagged and muzzled and with every word of protest censured and suppressed, it has not been found possible or expedient for us to conduct Quit India in the normal, printing-press-editor-

publisher-subscription style. We crave indulgence of our readers for this craze and invite everyone to pay us our subscription by multiplying and circulating as many copies of this journal as possible by all means at their disposal.

Civil Disobedience Vs. Rebellion

After defining the Government, an autocracy and Civil Disobedience it adds "of the past satyagraha movements have been of this nature where artists are produced by breaking the Salt Laws, Forest Regulations, the enforcement of Section 144 Civil P.C. Curfew orders, executing bans on meetings etc. and bowed our heads to receive the lathis of the police who represent the collective self of the people - the Government - or anyone sentenced of imprisonment as model prisoners etc. Under such circumstances the programme of satyagraha reflected this partial disobedience. It calls the British Government in India an autocracy deriving its authority by the sufferance of the people. Therefore, all its so-called laws are fiats. Such a type of government ceases to have any sanction without the tacit recognition guaranteed to the government by the course of our acts as it has still withdrawn. Then any punishment meted out by such an authority has no sanction, it becomes the act of a ruffian. Being a ruffian comes to beat, is it not the duty of any one to happens to be nearby to disarm him by snatching away of the stick. If an unauthorised person holds up and appears with a revolver are we not called upon to wrest the weapon from his hands. The AICC resolution of August 8 withdraws from the British Government all recognition and they now remain as usurpers. Their locus standi have gone. They have no longer any right to wield weapon and there is no moral duty to obey them. On the other hand, we have to disarm them. This is what Gandhiji calls open rebellion. So the present movement fundamentally different from the past movement and they should be reflected in the programme. We refuse to recognise government officials and we owe no obedience to that. When a policeman appears with a lathi or a revolver, he having no licence to use such power, has to be disarmed. We should not bow our heads to receiving the strokes as formerly, but pull away their sticks and render them powerless. Having no authority to arrest us. Therefore the present day arrests and detention is at par

with kidnapping that has been going on on the frontiers of our leaders have been kidnapped. The British Government wields many kinds of weapons of which we have to disarm them. They use telegraphs and telephones for issuing their illegal fiats, railways to rope the troops and army police, the trunk routes for mechanised forces. All these facilities have to be withdrawn if we seek to implement the resolution of the Congress. The former movements, doing attempts to win over the government were mostly confined to cities, but the nature of the weapons which they hold calls for us to drive the movement, to the army and villages. No sensible General will attack a fort where it is invulnerable. The British Government is well entrenched in towns and cities while thousands of miles and railways trunk routes and telegraph lines run through jungles and forests. Why expose ourselves to unnecessary risks while the same work can be done with impunity in remote places. We are not out to receive punishment, jail going has no place today. Our objective is to paralyse the British Government and drive it out of India. Hence the Quit India programme. The government officials have now become machinery aiding and abetting a foreign interloper. Hence we may withdraw all social cooperation with them in the same manner as Gandhiji chalked out a line of action to be followed if the Japanese invaded India. The Britishers today are in the same position as invaders and have to be dealt with in the same manner. Hence this programme is one of do or die, as although the Britishers have been following a policy of successful retirement where the Germans and Japanese will now force our friends, we have been too poor in mind. They are valiant fighters where unarmed masses are concerned. Shall we rise to the occasion and meet their illegal terrorism of the people and face their bullets with a stout heart.

———— ·X· ————

109

Birla and Marwari Community "Finance" the Movement

F.28/Cong/42-A.I September 28, 1942

(Extract from para No.151 of the Special Branch Daily Notes dated the 28.8.42 received with Calcutta S.B. Memo. No. C.M.579/42 dated the 29th August 1942.)

The Working Committee of the Rioters which met on the 19th and 22nd instant, decided that sabotage and hooliganism must be continued at all costs. A definite programme for the future would, however, be chalked out after the return of the workers from the interior of the province. They believe that they will get Japanese help in their efforts if they can carry on sabotage etc., for only two months more. They have also definitely decided to adopt terrorism, that is, individual assassination of high British officials and to engage in guerilla warfare, though a concrete programme is yet to be formulated. The guerilla war will, however, take the form of sabotage which will be spread over the country side.

A number of rifles are reported to have been stolen from the Ichapur Rifle Factory by members of the R.S.P. and the Forward Bloc. Electric workers of Dr.Suresh Banerji's group have told the students of the importance of the Electric Supply cables, which they are now locating. The rioters propose to attack distant railway stations. Rajshahi and Murshidabad districts have been selected.

Two Ministers, Santosh Kumar Bose and Promatha Banarji have paid Rs.1000/- each by way of compensation for not being forced to resign their jobs. It is from this fund that the cost of the printing is borne. They have drafted other Bengali and Hindi leaflets which will be as it were a clarion call to the labourers and which will be distributed in a few days.

Birla Brothers and the Marwari community are financing the acts of sabotage and strikes in furtherance of the Gandhi movement so as to hit the British Capitalists hard. According to Mohammad Ismail (E.S.P., C.P.I.), General Secretary Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union, Bhagirath Kanoria of Burrabazar

(arrested) who is said to be a right-hand man of G.D. Birla, sent an agent to him last week to request him and offer Rs.25,000/- and more in case of success, for fomenting a general tramway strike in Calcutta in furtherance of the movement. Ismail, however, rejected the offer and dismissed the agent who did not disclose the identity. Ismail added that agents of Birla and Kanoria engineered labour strikes in the Kesoram Cotton Mill and Bhartiya Electric Steel Works. They were still after the Kadapara Jute Mill, Orient Fan Co., and other factories engaged in war production or supplies. Communists were being threatened by the Forward Blocists and Youth Leaguers.

xx xx xx xx

Bejoy Bhattacharji of the Ad Hoc Congress is at present the sole dictator of the movement. He is concerned in composing and cyclostyling all kinds of leaflets in his underground shelter.

xx xx xx xx

It is said that Bardoloi of Assam who collected this money, came to Calcutta and left it with Bejoy on his departure, as he apprehended arrest.

———— ·X· ————

110

Birla Informed Gandhi Regarding His Arrest: Believed that He Left Instructions with Kasturba

F.24/Cong/42-V September 29, 1942

(Copy of secret letter No. 71961A/320 dated 29th September, 1942 from Special Branch, C.I.D. Bombay, addressed to G. Ahmed, Dy. Dir. Int. Bureau, Home Deptt., New Delhi).

Please see your Secret and Express letter No. 24/Cong/42 of the 5th September, 1942.

It is not improbable that Gandhi and other Congress leaders anticipated arrest immediately after the conclusion of the AICC meeting. That they received information to this effect is not borne out by the facts for neither Gandhi nor any other member of the

Working Committee expected to be arrested on the morning of the 9th August and not a single one of them had made arrangements in anticipation for such an event. What we do know, however, is that information reached Mr. G.D. Birla from Delhi, presumably by telephone, round about midnight on the 8th August, to the effect that Gandhi was to be arrest immediately. From the same gentleman we also learned that when he conveyed this information to Gandhi the latter said that he did not believe it, in view of the fact that he had publicly expressed his intention of writing to H.E. the Viceroy, and consequently no action would be taken until the Viceroy had received his letter. Anyway, when the police party visited him in his bungalow at 5 a.m. on the 9th August, Gandhi certainly did not expected to be arrested for the simple fact that he was not ready and his belongings had to be hurriedly arranged before he was removed.

As for the session of the AICC being concluded in anticipation of arrests on the 9th, this I consider to be a figment of somebody's imagination. For one thing, the 9th was a Sunday, the most convenient day in the week for staging big meetings. A programme had been circulated to the effect that Nehru would be present at a monster Flag salutation at 8 a.m., followed at 9 a.m. by an address to students, and Gandhi was to speak at a mass meeting at 5 p.m. that afternoon. Besides, these Gandhi had already arranged to address the same day a meeting of Presidents and Secretaries of the various Provincial Congress Committees who had been specially summoned to Bombay. These arrangements were previously made, and it cannot be said, therefore, that the AICC meeting was hurried through because members had received information of their arrests being made immediately.

No information has reached us that Gandhi handed over a document in writing to his wife to be passed on to certain other members of the AICC: in fact, we very much doubt that he ever did so. It is not impossible that in anticipation of his likely internment he had previously discussed the arrangements with Mrs. Gandhi and left her with instructions to convey these verbally to certain members of the AICC. It is quite possible that she carried out these instructions but we do not believe that anything further was done, or that the alleged document was

read out at a meeting attended by the persons mentioned in your letter, or in fact that any such meeting was held. Had as many as seventy members of the AICC held a meeting, you can rest assured that we should have been aware of it.

Gandhi never had the opportunity of publicity declaring his programme for this Movement. We fully anticipated that he would make an announcement on this subject either at the meeting of the AICC held on the 8th or, if not then at the mass meeting he was to address on the evening of the 9th. On the other hand, information reached us, via your office, of the details of the AICC programme published by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. This was the first information we had here of the lines the Movement was likely to take. It is highly improbable than that the AICC members in Bombay formulated a programme as alleged. What is more probable is that Gandhi formulated his ideas and that these were circulated to all Provincial Congress Committees several weeks before the AICC meeting took place.

In our opinion, no meeting of this description took place. It is not impossible that a few members of the AICC did get together, did make plans to go underground and did make preparation to organise a campaign, but we have no definite information on this point.

As for instructions being cyclostyled and handed over to members of various provinces for distribution, this is not impossible. If, as alleged, it was decided to boycott courts and police, organise extensive strikes, sabotage telegraphic communications, destroy the larger bridges, win over the military by contact and leaflet propaganda, cut off grain supplies to cities not supporting the Movement it is interesting to note that first circular leaflet picket up in Bombay on the 10th August refers only to a general hartal, meetings, disobedience of bans on meetings, resistance against the Salt Laws, appeals to students, Government servants, soldiers and Indian States and Women and omits any reference to any of the subjects mentioned by your informant.

———— ·X· ————

111

Ram Nandan Mishra on Role of Socialist Party

F.24/Cong/42-V September 30, 1942

According to the C.I.D. report from Cuttack for September, 1942, C.S.P.has been responsible for introducing into the province one set of instructions which was later on followed. Malati Chowdhury and Surinder Nath Dwivedi attended all the meetings in Bombay. Chowdhury was arrested on return but Dwivedi went underground to whom Ram Nandan Misra made over a copy of the programme prepared by the Congress Socialist Party in Bombay. It is further corroborated by a letter now in the possession of police written by Dwivedi himself and addressed to an accommodation trust in Bangalore, "I have met a man from A.I.C.C. who had specific instructions from Gandhi himself to remove railway lines to isolate some areas in Madras to make it easier for Congress workers to carry out their revolution without being hindered by government reinforcement from other parts.".

—— X ——

112

Revolutionary Activities in Bengal

F.28/Cong/43-A-III September 30, 1943

(Extract from the Bengal C.I.B. Review of Revolutionary matters for September 1943.)

(e) General. - Both Calcutta and district activity has been extremely slight. In Calcutta a very loose C.S.P.-R.S.P.-F.B. student combination has held a number of private meetings at which there was much talk, enlivened with occasional altercations and free fights between the rival groups. At a joint C.S.P.-R.S.P. meeting held in Calcutta on the 12th September it is reported that a new Executive Body of the Central Committee was formed with Saroj Bandhu Acharji, a certain politician with distinct leftist inclinations well-known in Bengal, and two others. The

politician referred to is responsible for general supversion, and has drafted a pledge consisting of twenty-two points which is intended to be taken by all members. This group is working in the East Indian Railwaymen's Union and is keen to gain influence in the B.P.T.U.C.

———— ·X· ————

113
Guerilla Activities in Assam

F.28/Cong/42-A-III September 30, 1943

(Extract from the Central Intelligence Officer, Assam's Fortnightly Report No. 19 of 1943 on the Political Situation in Assam for the Second Half of September 1943.)

A new move in Sylhet is an attempt by the so-called Congress War Council to start guerilla bands. Whether this is being done by the official Congress party or by individuals under cover of this Council, it is not yet quite clear. A recent secret report indicated, however, that the Congress in both Nowgong and Jorhat still cherished hopes of a Japanese invasion of the province when they would be able to join and give assistance to Bose. An uncorroborated report from Nowgong says that Congress there have still got some arms hidden away underground.

———— ·X· ————

114
The Nilgiri Rebellion

F.6/15/42-II October 1, 1942

(Eastern States Agency No.C2(2)C/42-2129, Hastings House, Alipore dated October 5, 1942 and copy to the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, (2) Headquarters Eastern Army, (3) Brig. A.E. Barlow M.C. (4) Dewan Mayur Bhanj State.)

Copy of Memo No. 600/T dated lst October 1942 from the Political Agent Orissa State to the Secretary to the Resident for the Eastern States situation report- Nilgiri - October 1, 1942.

Yesterday the Commandant with one lorry load of Agent Police and a Magistrate went six miles south went along the road towards Ishwarpur. In six different places the Magistrate addressed the parties of the people and the area appeared to be quite normal and peaceful. In the evening several reports were received from the Ajodhya area. After the meeting on the previous evening at the place the Raja had sent two missions to the area with Magistrates informing them of the attitude of the Darbar and expressing the hope that they would not be as foolish as to give further trouble. The miscreants were at that stage so bold, however, that they actually sent a most defying reply and it was clear that the only force could pacify the area. The battalion of the 6/2 Punjab Regt. arrived by the Madras Mail and were housed in the police station for the night. There was also a meeting at the place as on the previous two evenings, though not a very large one and mostly composed of towns people. Late at night I questioned two men closely as to the underlying motives of the present agitation. It is unnecessary to give details of their reply as the fact emerged that all the discontent from the political point of view was based on utterly false propaganda. The agitation has lately been taking the form of pure rebellion witness the fact that upto yesterday evening there were in Ajodhya at least 150 persons from Mayurbhanj State who could not possibly have had any grievance against the local authorities. These persons returned to Mayurbhanj last night probably in a crapulous condition after imbibing artificial courage for several days while waiting for the expected advance of the police. To-day's operations started at 7.30 by lorry from Nilgiri town. The force consisted of one Palatoon (30 men) of the 6/2 Punjab Regt.2 Palatoons of the Joint Agency Police and about a thousand state police army with lathis with me were the Commandant, a Magistrate, a State Superintendent of of Police and a Doctor. The people were probably expecting us by the route via Kunrpur and Kathapal; since no drums were heard until we were within half a mile from the village then however a good deal of

noise started and as we drew near the village which is surrounded by jungle on the south and went some hundreds of persons were seen gathering. They did not appear to be armed to the same extent as the people at Barahampur were on September 26, but there were bows and arrows and other weapons. The first move of the opposition was to run to attack us shouting. With the Magistrate's agreement the situation was handed over to the Jamadar of the military platoon. Nine rounds were fired individually apparently without hitting anyone. This is not surprising as the people contorting about in the jungle formed an almost mass tract. Simultaneously an aircraft arrived and after several swoops fired a verey cartridge. The firing of the aircraft put the opposition to flight. Then there was no opposition and we advanced towards the village and arrested six men. At this time drums were still beating to the east and after a third halt we advanced the east after our prearranged route. A half-hearted attempt was able to attack our rear by about 4 men, three rounds were fired and they dispersed. The Jamadar suspected two hits, but neigher the commandant nor I can confirm this. A party of 60 men were sitting in a nought under some tree. These ran away on our approach. They appeared to be quite anxious and anxious to make peace. On our way back via Kathapal to the north-east and back to Kuanrpur we returned to Rajnilgiri. There were some sights of emptiness, but there were a few people who met us as peaceful protestants. The aircraft remained over head for an hour and a half making numerous swoops on parties of people who were running away and its assistance was most useful. It was also extremely well synchronised with our own movements. The people have been shown that the force is at the disposal of the authorities but that it is used only so far as it is absolutely essential. Without the assistance of the Punjabi Platoon this would not have been possible since it was the extra range and incidentally the loud creak of the 303 rifles combined with the action of the aircraft which really inspired to fear. The joint police did not fire at all. It is too early to prophecy the results, but it may be satisfactory, if not, the same will be done again and on the second occasion the forcible realisation of collective fines will have to be resorted to. As the rice crop ripens, this becomes a very real threat.

———— X ————

115

Movement in Bengal Uncontrolled

F.28/Cong/42-A-I October 2, 1942

So far as the movement in Bengal is concerned all agreed that it was uncontrolled, sporadic, disorganised ánd unmethodical. The Bengal Official Congress had been successfully ousted by the terrorist groups. The incident at Bhanga where a Hindu Sub-Inspector of Police was murdered brutally had been an act which directly contravened and brought into contempt the Congress creed of non-violence. The Police Officer on the other hand upheld the spirit of non-violence by trying to appease the mob with folded hands even when he was being battered to death. The incidents in Contai and Tamluk again had been brought about by two willy individuals - Manmatha Nath Das, Advocate of 64/1, Mayarpur Road and Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji, M.L.A., the Managing Director of the Hooghly Bank.

———— ·X· ————

116

Radical League in Gauhati

F.28/Cong/42-A-I October 2, 1942

The Gauhati District Congress Committee has published the enclosed bulletin dated 2.10.42 styled the "Brutal Murder by the Police" and is distributing it in villages and towns.

It is proposed to bring batches of villagers for this movement but lack of funds stands in the way.

Dinanath Medhi, Pleader, Gauhati, is now visiting Ramdia, Hajo and Soalkuchi areas occasionally and holding meetings in connection with the proposed no-rent campaign.

Lakhidhar Bora, B.L., Secretary, Gauhati District Congress Committee, is now busy with collection of funds in aid of the present movement and enrolement of Congress volunteers from villages.

The Kamrup Muslims are supplying materials and labour for war construction work and there is no death of Hindu labour in spite of picketing by the Congress.

The following Congressmen are carrying on the usual Congress work in Kamrup district:-

1. Dr.Bhubaneswar Baruah,
2, Ranindra Nath Nabis,
3. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharjee,
4. Nabin Chandra Goswami,
5. Narayan Chandra Bhuiyan,
6. Santi Ram Deka,
7. Bharat Chandra Sarma,
8. Hareswar Sarma.

The villagers of Chutiapara and Kamalpur areas held a joint meeting and informed Gauhati District Congress Committee that they would carry on the Congress programme non-violently in their respective villages but will do nothing violent, such as railway sabotage, setting fire to Government buildings, which were advocated by Hareswar Goswami.

Dr.Bhubaneswar Baruah was approached by the Nowgong people for advice on the Hindu-Muslim friction in Nowgong district. He has advised them to concentrate on satyagraha and picketing in spite of opposition from the Muslims.

The following members of the Radical League, Gauhati, are engaged in distribution of leaflets:

1. Upendra Chandra Sarma, B.L.
2. Narayan Chandra Das,
3. Mohan Lal Mukherjee,
4. Nihar Mukherjee,
5. Hena Ganguli,
6. Bhupendra Mohanta.

Efforts are being made to seize Hajo Police Station with 500 ladies.

———— ·X· ————

117

D.I.G. Police on Sabotage in U.P.

F.28/Cong./42-B.1 October 3, 1942

SECRET
D.O. No.639/C.O-42

ASSTT. INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, UNITED PROVINCES.

Dated Lucknow, October 3, 1942

My dear Beveridge,

Please refer to your Secret Memo No.24/Cong./42-E, dated New Delhi, September 21, 1942.

This memo has been handed to me by the Special Branch with the request that I may indicate how it is to be answered. There is little indication in the Special Reports received from districts of any information which would be of assistance in answering your queries but I venture to give the following opinions which are based on my own perusal of a vast number of reports in connection with the present movement and also on deductions made from these reports. This opinion of mine is purely personal and of a general nature but I am forwarding it without calling for reports from districts as all you have asked for is a brief report.

Your first query is regarding the nature of sabotage incidents in this province. Speaking generally these took the form very largely of attacks on communications and to a lesser degree and at a later stage of attacks on Government buildings such as Police Stations,Tehsils, Canal Bungalows, Post Offices etc.

Your next query is regarding the extent of technical knowledge or skill displayed in the selection of targets for attack and in carrying out the work of sabotage. My own view is that, while there is every reason to suspect that people with considerable technical knowledge must have assisted on many occasions in the cutting of telegraph wires for instace or in the pulling up of the railway line, no such degree of skill or concered action was on the whole evident as would suggest that there had been careful planning in the selection of targets or organised training for the carrying out of the particular kinds of sabotage I am discussing. There were occasions when some real skill

was evident, for instance when a derailment was caused on a small bridge, but, even though it must be admitted that the two main railway lines from West to East were more considerably damaged than less important stretches of railway, I am not prepared to admit that there was such previous planning or such exercise of skill and organisation in the carrying out of sabotage on communications generally as would warrant our assuming that dareful plans of a technical nature had been perfected. Many attempts have been made, based on no detailed information, to prove that the interruption of railway and other communications in the East of the U.P. must be ascribed to a carefully thought out plan for an attack on one of the most vulnerable points in the communication system between East and West. We have now at our disposal a mass of information regarding events in the East of U.P. as a result of our close investigation into the affairs of the Benares Hindu University, and I can assert with confidence that there is no evidence whatever to support such a theory. The reasons for the East of the U.P. having suffered more severely than other parts of the province have been already set forth by me in my fortnightly reports. They may not be exhaustive but they do include the most essential points. These are:

(a) The existence over a very long period of terrorist and revolutionary cells, with Bengal and Bihar connections, in our Eastern Districts.

(b) The comparative absence of troops and Cantt. stations in an area which is largely isolated, especially during the rainy season, because of far from ideal systems of communication.

(c) The fact that, over a very long period, Eastern districts in the U.P. were looked upon as places of penal servitude by many officers of the law and order services, and upto only a year or two ago it seemed to be the custom to officer these Eastern districts very largely with the less efficient members of the two services in question.

(d) The proximity of Bihar where conditions very rapidly deteriorated and from which the poison of rebellion was bound to infiltrate the U.P.

(e) The very heavy pressure of population on the

soil in most Eastern districts, the very low standard of living comparatively speaking, and the cessation of a very valuable source of income derived from money-orders formerly sent by relatives in Burma to their homes in the U.P.

(f) The proximity of the Hindu University from which when it was closed, students in considerable numbers issued forth to instigate trouble in rural areas and participate in sabotage.

Your next query is regarding the effectiveness of the sabotage. Except in the Eastern districts may be said that the sabotage committeed was almost entirely ineffective except in a very temporary degree. In the East of the province, however, interference with communications was definitely very effective indeed. Telegraphic and telephonic communications were first attacked, and this was principally done in and around the large cities, particularly those which had important and numerous educational institutions. The cities were soon brought under control and subversive organisers then evolved the vague scheme of capturing the rural areas and then attacking the cities. Personally I was considerably surprised at the extent to which disturbances spread in the rural areas in the U.P. I ascribe the extent of this success entirely to our failure to check Congress speakers at a very large number of meetings in the rural areas since the Congress leaders were released at the end of the hot weather of 1941. We allowed these people, in themselves unimportant, at a very large number of poorly attended meetings, to predict the iminent end of the British Raj and the inevitable arrival of a period of loot and dacoity. In themselves these individual meetings were of little importance but the cumulative effect was bound to be most damaging to our prestige and most dangerous in respect of any such civil disobedience movement as has just been launched. The continuously repeated statements must have carried considerable conviction with the kisans because they appeared to be almost entirely unrefuted and unchecked. When therefore communications in outlying districts like Ballia and Ghazipur, where no troops had been seen for ages, were suddenly cut and remained cut for a number of days, the poor deluded kisans only to readily believed the Congress and student agitators who arrived to announce, that as they had all along predicted, the British Raj had

come to an end and the time for general loot had arrived.

This has, I am afraid, developed into rather a long note. I am open to conviction, but I base my opinion very definitely on the facts. I do not believe that there was any definite plan of a skilled or technical character to upset our communications and particularly to ruin those communications at their most vulnerable point in those provinces.
If Congress had another month to perfect their plans there would probably have been a very different story to tell. The very fact that the movement was so quickly suppressed, at least in its mob violence aspect, is clear proof that no skilled or well organised plans had come to fruition. Particularly does this prove to my mind that direct enemy inspiration was not at the bottom of this "open rebellion" as it has been called. I flatter myself that we in the Special Branch of the U.P. had very full information of all such plans and instructions as had been issued by Congress prior to the arrest of Gandhi and that we since have had very full information regarding any attempts to bring about concerted and well organised sabotage. We had full details of verbal instructions issued after the Wardha meeting and disseminated verbally to district organisers by Congress leaders who returned from Wardha. We issued to all districts details of the instruction which were so issued. These instructions included interference with communications and the capture of police stations etc. but they were of a general character and no detailed programme of any kind had at that time been drawn up. The whole character of the movement remained entirely unorganised and therefore only partially effective because of the absence of any clear out programme or definite schedule of action. When leaders returned from Bombay and when student rowdyism in towns had been suppressed, some efforts were made to draw up and disseminate some kind of programme for planned action. This programme clearly envisaged gaining control of the rural areas by attacking and capturing police stations, Tehsils etc. and suborning of Government officials from their allegiance. When this was complete the cities were to be attacked. This was the first and almost the only evidence of a planned technique and an attempt to make the movement assume some definite shape.

Even so it was extremely vague and effective only in a very localised way. I personally hold the view that such direction as the movement has received since Gandhi was arrested has come more from the enemy radio broadcasts and an early speech of Mr. Amery than from any organisation on the part of Congress, terrorists or any alleged enemy agents in this country. Even now the entire movement is gravely unorganised, and ineffective for that reason and, such subversive organisers as have any claim to organising ability fully recognise this and are doing all they can to put an end to the sporadic and ineffective campaign now in progress in order to bring about a concerted and well planned attack on communications, on Government buildings and on individuals. I doubt whether they can possibly succeed in their efforts but there is no doubt that they are bringing together not only Congress criminals but terrorists, goondas and political gangasters in a very definite effort to utilise terrorist methods for achieving their ends.

I apologise for the length of this note but it conveys, very clearly I hope, my own clearly defined views on the movement so far, views which are based on facts and not on theories.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

E.J. Beveridge, Esq., I.P.,
Asstt. Dir., Intelligence Bureau,
Home Department, Govt. of India,
New Delhi

———— ·X· ————

118

Sporadic and Unorganised Sabotage in U.P.: An Assessment by Intelligence Deptt.

F.28/Cong./42-B.I

October 5, 1942

SECRET
D.O. No. 644/C.O.-42

ASSTT. INSPECTOR GENERAL POLICE
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPTT.
UNITED PROVINCES.

Dated Lucknow, October 5, 1942

My dear Sir,

Please refer to Special Branch Letters No. C/C.4.A/ Genl. dated July 18, 1942, No.G/C.10.A.Sat/42, dated July 24, 1942, No. G/C.10.B.Sat/42, dated August 4, 1942, and to my own Secret and Immediate D.O. No. 453/C.O.-42 of the same date. Copies are attached for ready reference.

2. The events of the past two months have proved the accuracy of the information issued to districts regarding the probable course of civil disobedience movement and the various aspects of the movement detailed by the Special Branch have been or are being exploited. It is clear that the prompt action of government in arresting Congress leaders and organisers prevented Gandhi and his provincial organisers from perfecting their plans. No detailed programme of concerted action could be drawn up, and that attempt at coordination was the somewhat vague plan after the suppression of rowdyism and sabotage in city areas, to gain control of the rural areas, win over or intimidate all government officials, capture thanas and tehsils and then attack the head-quarter towns. Even this plan was the subject of a definite programme such as would ensure simultaneous action on any considerable scale, and it remains true that the chief weakness of the entire"rebellion" to date has been the lack of central direction and clear cut programme of action. The phase of mob violence has practically ended but the movement is far from finished. Realising that sporadic and unorganised sabotage is entirely ineffective, Congress organisers still at large are straining every nerve to harness the scattered and uncoordinated agencies indulging in terrorism and sabotage with a view to bringing about

a really effective and concerted attack of a planned nature on communications. On government buildings and institutions, and on individuals. There is little evidence that they will succeed in these attempts, and very useful work has been done by the police in locating organisers in hiding, detecting the makers of bombs and other and mateur terrorists, and in breaking up the leaflet campaign. Students however are still largely unsubdued and a fillip to the enthusiasm of the youthful "patriot" is found in enemy propaganda, in leaflets, in news of the continuance of trouble in other parts of India, and especially Bihar, in the encouragement and instigation of Congress minded women and girls and in the financial assistance of labour magnates and the bania class generally. Meanwhile criminals, politico-criminals, Congress gangsters and terrorists proper are exploiting the situation to the full and continued vigilance and severity are needed to curb their activities.

3. Considerable information of the source variety has reached the Special Branch to indicate the present trend of the movement, and full corroboration of this information has now been secured in papers recovered from Kesho Deo Malviya when he was arrested in Cawnpore on the night of September 29. Kesho Deo Malviya has been for some time directing the Congress movement in U.P., and, while I am entirely opposed to playing the Congress game by giving a fillip to the "war of nerves" set up by the periodical threat of "big days" and a recrudescence of trouble, the material available merits dissemination to all districts as indication of what the Congress organisers are aiming at and what they hope to bring about in the near future.

4. The information may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The main object is to organise the movement in all areas so that simultaneous action would take place throughout the Province. Early action is considered necessary in order to force government to compromise with the Congress prior to any Japanese invasion. There are repeated references to action to be committed between October 9th and 16th and a reference to the population being warned not to travel by train after October 15th.

(b) While there is talk of both violent and non-violent methods being adopted, and advocacy of

demonstrations and meetings in inaccessible portions of districts with a view to rousing enthusiasm, it is abundantly clear that all references to non-violence are obviously lip-service only and confine entirely to leaflets and official instructions, as for instance the warning to travellers and an occasional admonition causing death while forcibly depriving police of their arms.

(c) There is some slight indication that satyagrha methods may be resorted to by some agencies, but it is expected that little hope is entertained of non-violence being resorted to.

(d) Clear evidence exists of the direct organisation and financing of terrorism and violence and there are expenditure items totalling 4,000 on arms. There is therefore every reason to believe that acts of terrorism and violence to date have been carried out at the instance of and financed by Congress and that the future attempt at simultaneous action against officials. Kesho Deo Malviya is reported to have stated that the revolutionary branch would be supplied with all necessary material and implements for carrying out their programmes.

(e) In one leaflet issued by K.D. Malviya reference is made to detailed programme to wrest power from government, but no clear cut schedule of action has come to notice. The general plan appears to be still the capture of the rural areas and includes the establishment of the rule of the masses, the removal of all signs of the existence of government, the winning over by persuasion, intimidation or social boycott of police, other officials and of all who assist government, the rendering of police stations useless and the seizure of police arms, the stoppage of recruitment, a no-rent campaign, regular hartals, the prevention of schools and colleges from functioning and the systematic tampering with the means of communication generally. The creation of an atmosphere of conflict is stressed and resistance to arrest is particularly advocated. Open demonstrations and the courting of arrest are considered to be a matter of "policy" on occasions for stirring up enthusiasm, but some Congressmen must remain in the background for organisation purposes.

(f) Notes on expenditure recovered from K.D. Malviya show that very large sums of money have

already been spent and are still available for financing the movement. Malviya has apparently toured the whole province, and particularly has visited Meerut, Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Bareilly, Benares and distributed many thousands of ruppees on the various districts and provincial activities, including the purchase of arms, the printing of leaflets, the financing of women and general expenses. During his tour he apparently used the name of K.N. Narayan and it may be possible to trace his movements in some towns by looking up this name. There is particular reference to Meerut and Delhi, which would indicate that these were centres of organisation, and it is known that Malviya attended a meeting of organisers in Meerut where he met Prof. Ram Saran of Moradabad, Sundar Lal of Allahabad University, Kailash Prakash a Meerut district dictator and Jagdish Prasad of Chandpur, Bijnor. District Congress bodies have been instructed not to pause for lack of funds, as Malviya will finance any district up to Rs.10,000/-, and it is clear that not only have ample funds been available and spent, but that banias and others have contributed freely. Malviya boasts that he has obtained cash from every class from members of the Viceroy's Executive Council down to kisans themselves. This is no idle boast.

5. As I have already stated, there is no evidence to suggest that these aims of the organisers can be brought to fruition, but it is not possible to estimate exactly how far coordination of effort and central organisation may have been carried out. It is clear that ample funds have been and are available that considerable support is still forthcoming from students, women, banias and the intelligentsia generally, and that Congress organisers are determined to utilise criminal and terrorist elements and methods in their attempts to bring about co-ordinated effort for the overthrow of the administration. Instances of the intimidation of officials in the rural area have been quite frequent of late and suggest that the programme is being followed in some quarters. The number of terrorist acts, such as bomb throwing and planting, and arms hold-ups, has been considerable, and, though it is believed at present that these have been committed more by pure criminals and amateur terrorists than by people with any deep political convictions, the evidence available shows

that many if not all of them may owe their inspiration directly or indirectly to the Congress organisation.

6. I request that you be on the alert for any signs of the implementation of the programme and aims outlined above, and that prompt information be submitted to the Special Branch of any indications that the organisation has taken hold or is bearing fruit.

7. Please show this letter to your District Magistrates.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

To

All Superintendents of Police,
United Provinces.

———— ·X· ————

119

Brutal Murder by Police in Nowgong

F.28/Cong/42-A-I October 6, 1942

In order to lodge a protest against the oppression, injustice and improper conduct of the Police and the Military in Nowgong district, meetings were held in Bamunkuchi, Chaukhati, Nityananda and Jalaha villages under Barpet subdivision in observance of "Nowgong Day". The people assembled felt pride over the heroism exhibited by the Nowgong people, male and female. They also prayed for the souls of martyrs Bhogeswari Phukanani, Tilk Deka and others who lost their lives on account of firing by the Military.

The armed Police attended all the meetings except the one held at Bamunkuchi. The meeting at Jalaha was attended by Sub-Inspector Tularam Keot of Patacharkuci Police Station and two armed constables. The meeting was presided over by Girish Chandra Chaudhury, M.A.,B.L. The President, Rajani Kanta Sarma, and Bhadeswar Das were arrested while the meeting was in

progress. While the President was trying to finish his address at the request of the audience the Police opened fire on the assembly thrice causing injuries to many and serious injuries to Rameswar Das of Kadamguri. The Police thereafter took the arrested persons to the Police Station.

The Police again fired 5 rounds on the assembly at Rehabari village killing on the spot Madan Chandra Barman, a student of class VI, aged 14 years, and Rautaram Das, an innocent villager. Five more were injured.

On arrival at Nityananda village the Sub-Inspector fired 2 rounds on 3 innocent villagers standing near the road, seriously injuring Memeram Hir. Simultaneously with the order for firing the Sub-Inspector shouted jubilantly "I have already killed two, is more firing necessary". An example of heroism indeed.

The collective fine amounting to over one lakh of rupees imposed on the people of Barnagar (Sarbhog) is being collected with all sorts of force and violence. There are instances when earornaments have been forcibly taken away from the person of females during the absence of male members. Barpeta people have not lost courage still. On the contrary these acts of oppression and murder have served as a fillip to them.

TEZPUR

On 20.9.42 the villagers hoisted the national flag at the police stations at Dhekiajuli, Sootea, Behali and Gohpur in presence of the armed Police. At Dhekiajuli the Police opened fire killing 9 including 3 ladies. At Gohpur Police Station Miss Kanaklata Baruah, aged 12/13 years, advanced first of all with a national flag and offered her chest for the first bullet which she got. Mukunda Kakati then advanced and and took the second bullet on his chest. Both of them died on the spot and 6 others were injured.

At Behali Police Station the Police made a lathi charge. One Nepali girl hoisted the flag. At Sootea Police Station nothing untoward happened. On 21.9.42 the national flag was hoisted at Tezpur town. The Police charged the assembly with lathies and bayonets. About eighty people were arrested and taken to the Police Station where they were mercilessly beaten.

JORHAT:

On 28.9.42 the Police and Military opened fire and made lathi charge on an assembly of about 5,000 people, male and female, in front of Teok thana. About ten persons received bullet injuries and about one hundred persons received wounds from lathies and bayonets.

The struggle in Assam has taken the shape of the strong current of Brahmaputra in spite of firing from muskets. The oppression of the oppressive British Government would be carried away in this strong current like dried leaves and twigs. The young men and young girls of Assam are advancing with the determination to "win freedom or embrace death".

"FREEDOM OR DEATH"
"BANDEMATARAM".

———— ·X· ————

120

Sabotage Events in U.P. : Report of Inspector-General of Police

F.28/Cong./42-B.I October 7, 1942

(Secret D.O. No.0-250 from M.A. Inglis, Inspector-General of Police, United Provinces, Nainital, dt. Oct. 7th, 1942 to M.J. Thom, Esq., M.C.I.P., A.I.G. of Police, C.I.D.,U.P. Lucknow)

....

I have read with great interest your secret D.O. No.639/C.O.42, dated October the 3rd, 1942 to Beveridge. Without knowing more precisely the nature of the information called for and the objects with which this information is wanted, it is not easy to offer fully considered comments but there are a few general observations which I think I must record.

1. I think that we will limit too narrowly the scope of provincial comment if we discuss merely what happened within the province without allusion to

the events which we know occured more or less simultaneously in other parts of India. It may be said that the work of painting the whole Indian picture is for the Central Intelligence Bureau, but I think we may find ourselves taking rather too narrow a view of local events if we consider them as an ebullition of indiscipline which has no connection with or relation to events which occurred elsewhere.

2. I think also that, in view of the incompetences of our factual information of what actually occurred, even in this province, it is a trifle dangerous to make dogmatic statements at this stage. A fully considered appreciation of the whole outbreak must be postponed for a long time and there will even then be room for difference of opinion in drawing inferences and deductions from known facts.

3. The first and most important fact is that damage to communications did occur at precisely those places in India where they affected most immediately supply systems not only of armies out of essential war time industries and of railways.

It is therefore for consideration whether this fact was a fortuitous coincidence in the "civil disobedience" campaign - or whether it was an integral part thereof.

To my way of thinking coincidence must be ruled out, and it therefore follows that there was some directional plan behind the organisation of the outbreak.

It therefore becomes a trifle premature, I think, to assert as you do that "no such degree of skill or concerted action was on the whole evident as would suggest that there had been careful planning in the selection of targets or organised training for the carrying out of the particular kinds of sabotage I am discussing".

And I suggest that you are also a trifle premature in stating "We have now at our disposal a mass of information regarding events in the East of the U.P., as a result of our close investigation into the affairs of the B.H.U., and I can assert with confidence that there is no evidence whatever to support such a theory". (Presumably this "theory" is that of prior education for sabotage).

It may well be that such facts have recently come to light do not support this theory, but I still sugg-

est that a study and examination of earlier facts of sabotage on the E.I. Railway open the door to the possibility, and in the light of recent events, even the probability that education for such action has been going on.

Thus far - so far as I am aware - the following theories have been advanced to explain the significance of the sabotage events (both to tracks and telegraph wires) which occurred during 1938-39 and perhaps 1940 over a limited sector of the E.I. Railway between Allahabad and Dinapur.

(a) Bad luck on this sector of life.

(b) Poor discipline among railway subordinates on that sector.

(c) Bad type of engines.

(d) Bad supervision of line maintenance.

(e) Derailments for loot by goondas of Calcutta.

(f) The facts that most important trains run over this sector at night and that surrounding terrain is favourable to saboteurs.

But my own reason - though open to conviction by the presentation of a sound alternative theory - dictates to me that the only solution lies in regarding the whole series of events as constituting a school for sabotage. This is of course a speculative theory and if you can offer me a better positive solution I will indeed be glad to have it.

Why should this peculiar series of events have taken place? They cannot constitute a fortuitous chain of sporadic cases. There must exist some wide motive - and to my way of thinking the nature of that motive, even thought it might have been obscure before, is demonstrated by recent events - namely a plan to be able to do the greatest possible damage in the shortest possible time in a given area at a given mement.

4. I agree with your points (a) to (f) on pages 2 and 3 of your note.

But does not point (a) give certain reason and sense to my speculative theory?

Point (b) is undoubtedly true but has no real bear-

ing on the question of the co-ordination of action shown by the rebels.

Point (c) is also undoubtedly true - but again has no real bearing on the point immediately under discussion.

Point (d) emphasises my opening remark - that we must not regard the U.P. problem as being district from the All India problem.

Point (f) once again surely adds sense and reason to my speculative theory of prior education in sabotage.

5. The next general point is the effectiveness with which sabotage was carried out. Here we are on common ground. A certain laxity in the maintence of public discipline, a certain bias imparted to public opinion by direct and indirect Congress propaganda and a too generous tolerance of loose talk over a long period of years has certainly fertilised the soil for the planting of subversive ideas.

A really efficient rebel organisation with really determined support could and would have wrecked communications for months and perhaps years. That the effectiveness of sabotage was so comparatively poor is not due to the lack of wishing and planning of the sponsors of the outbreak but solely due to the indigenous and ineradicable inefficiency of their executive agents.

But, granted all this, the unpalatable fact still remanis that very severe dislocation of essential traffic was effected - the full extent of which remains to be disclosed.

6. On p.4, it strikes me that you write a trifle inconsequentially. First you say that you find no evidence of a concerted plan to upset communications and then in the very next sentence you grant that, if Congress had had time to perfect their plans, the story would probably have been very different.

The juxtaposition of these comments leaves me a bit puzzled.

To me the situation is rather that a definite general plan with militarily important objectives had already been formulated but that its detailed execution was

hampered and handicapped by the premature commencement of the movement.

I imagine that what you really had in mind when you wrote was the question of whether or not enemy agents had a share in the framing of the plan or in the direction of its execution. This of course is a matter for speculation but to my mind it is of comparative unimportance when we consider what actually happened.

But as to enemy agents you write on p.5 - "I personally hold the views that such direction as the movement has received since Gandhi was arrested has come more from the enemy radio broadcasts and an early speech of Mr. Amery than from any organisation on the part of Congress, terrorists or any other alleged enemy agents in this country."

But what are enemy radio broadcasts but enemy agency of a high efficiency? And is it to be presumed from the words I have underlined that Gandhi was the directing agency before he was locked up? If so we are agreed that a preconcerted plan did exist.

7. Later on you say "Even now the entire movement is gravely unorganised and ineffective for that reason and ...organisers (of the movement) ... fully recognise this and are doing all they can ... to bring about a concerted and well planned attack on communications...."

While I agree that the movement lost much of its intended effectiveness by its premature birth I offer as a pendant to your words the following extract from the fortnightly report for the Central Provinces and Berar for the first half of September 1942:-

"Para 11. While mob violence has ceased, a number of carefully planned acts of sabotage have occurred in different parts of the province. Seven attempts were made to sabotage the main G.I.P. Railway line in the Akola district in Berar...."

8. I agree with you that the U.P. C.I.D. was extremely clever to obtain prior information of the general lines which this outbreak was designed to follow - and had this information not been available I have no doubt that the speedy suppression of its early manifestations would have taken for longer and have been more difficult than was the case.

But in a sense this merely emphasises that the sponsors of the movement had worked out a long term plan and one which more-over they were backing to be a winner.

9. I apologise for having written at such length but I feel you are labouring under a wrong impression that an attack is being made on the efficiency of the C.I.D. For my own part I consider that the U.P. C.I.D. was in possession of most vitally important and possibly exclusive information without which this province would probably have had a bad time - but this is no reason why we should not throw our minds back and sideways in an endeavour to find out whether the real complete background of the picture or let us say the borders of Behar and the U.P. has not eluded us.

———— ·X· ————

121

Second Stage of the Movement: Lohia Issues Instructions

F.24/Cong./42-VII October 7, 1942

Circular memorandum issued by the Deputy Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government, dated October 7, 1942. A source report recently received from C.I.O. Lahore indicated that Ram Manohar Lohia, a Congress socialist leader has issued instruction to the following effect: "We have been successful in creating agitation among the masses, students and workers who have been stirred up beyond our expectations. We should make full use of this opportunity. So far our Movement was in its first stage but the time is now ripe when the second stage should be put into practice. The programme before the masses so far was a negative one, but we should now give them something concrete to do otherwise the present enthusiasm will go in vain and the movement might subside owing to repression for all times to come. We should now establish preliminary governments in villages, towns, cities, tehsils, districts and provinces. There are about 700,000 villages in the whole of India. Meetings

should be held in every village in which it should be declared that British administration has come to an end and that the people now owe allegiance to their local authorities of panchayats rather than to British authority. Processions should be taken out to take possession of Government arms and records. The arms are to be seized not to use them against anybody but in order that the same may not be used against the people by the Government. People and army should be persuaded to side the people while Britishers should be asked in the name of humanity not to resort to repression.

The Deputy Director requested all C.I.Ds., I.Bs. and C.I.Os. to find out if similar instructions have come to notice anywhere outside Panjab and if so whether their source can be established with any certainty. Ram Manohar Lohia is at present underground and so far has evaded arrest.

The replies received from Lucknow, Bombay, C.P. & Berar and Calcutta C.I.D. offices showed their inability to find out the source of instructions, but all of them were of the view that "several leaflets purporting to have been issued on behalf of the Congress containing the information relating to the establishment of preliminary government, formation of village panchayat, seizure of Government arms and records and persuasion of police and military to side with the police have from time to time come to our notice. There is, however, no index to show that the leaflets emanated from Ram Manohar Lohia." Some of the states, Bombay for example, suspected these instructions to have been issued by the underground Congress socialists arrested by student workers of the province. Calcutta, Special Branch Office, 14 Lord Sinha Road, informed the New Delhi Intelligence Bureau for a leaflet entitled "A.I.C.C. Bulletin for Workers" came to their notice on 17.8.42 and was cyclostyled by Bejoylal Bhattacharjee in the Sakti press which has since been read and closed down. The contents of the leaflet were similar to those mentioned in the above memo.

Extract of a Calcutta Police, Special Branch, Officers report "Cyclostyled A.I.C.C. Bulletin for Workers" points out that there is chief task is to keep up the enthusiasm witnessed in urban India to organise it along positive lines, to work up rural India to similar pitch of activity and to do co-ordinate the urban and

rural movements that Government may not already have crushed the one before the other is ready to meet with the same fate. As regards the programme for rural India, the paper advocated of thousands of people on the centres of British authority, the thanas and tehsils in order to put those out of action, the police and other government servants should be invited in the first instance to accept the authority of the people or on their refusal to do so should be dispossessed by them of their weapons and their government positions. It must be remembered that these riots should take place in the best organised awakened in their tehsil of any one district, carefully avoiding the police here there is friction of any kind for these riots should be timed to go throughout the province or in the majority of district where the Congress has reached best. The Government machinery will then not only be paralysed but shattered. District headquarters should also be raided; this will be the beginning of the free Indian state. The instructions given herein are (i) get everyone of our 70,000 villages to organise meetings for a declaration of freedom, (ii) organise freedom and fraternity workers from one village to another, (iii) disobey government authority and laws especially D.I.R. and engage in positive activity such as formation of people's executives among them and seize any recruitment in war contribution, (iv) put thanas and tehsils and let district headquarters out of action through non-violence, (v) arrange completion of this programme in four weeks or thereabout. We must see that we do not fall behind the tempo of the people.

Outlining a programme for urban India the leaflet finally avers that in the early stages hundreds will have to die, when that is done, the end will soon be only when sections of military refuse to shoot or when with non-violent strength people disarm government forces without handling the personnel. Indians among them should be asked to go over to the revolution or at least not to shoot unarmed countrymen fighting for freedom. Appeals not to shoot may be made to British and American soldiers emphasising the cause of human freedom and world peace.

———— ·X· ————

122

Role of Jugantar Party

F.28/Cong/42-A-I October 10, 1942

Extract from the Bengal Review of Revolutionary matter for the four weeks ending 22.10.1942

....

The participation of the Madaripur Jugantar Party, the Sri Sangha and the Bengal Volunteer Group in the Congress movement is in pursuance of their constant desire to do as much harm as they can to the British.

xxx xxx xxx xxx

As far as mere numerical strength is concerned, there can be no doubt that the efforts being made to recruit new members through the greatly increased contact with the student community in the excitement of the Congress movement will bear fruit, but against this may be set the extreme paucity of leaders of experience. The Madaripur Jugantar Party, for instance, has no leader of first class importance left, the Sri Sangha and the Bengal Volunteer Group have only one each, namely, Sunirmal Datta and Santimay Ganguli, but there are local leaders of all three parties whose arrest is urgently necessary, not only in order to complete the paralysation of the parties, but also, and this is most important, in order to prevent the arising in any district of a group of members, accustomed to committing acts of terrorism.

xxx xxx xxx xxx

Dangerous cracker-bombs have already been thrown at the houses of D.I.B. officers in Dacca, where also a watcher has been fatally stabbed. The danger is a much-favoured weapon for satisfying even petty grudges in East Bengal.

———— ·X· ————

123

Kiran Shankar Roy Supports Sabotage Activities

F.28/Cong/42-A-I October 10, 1942

(Extract from para No.66 of the Special Branch Daily Note dated the 10th October 1942, received with S.B. Calcutta, No. C.M.579/42, dated 12th October 1942.)

At a discussion held on or about 2-10-42 at the residence of Kiran Shankar Roy (ad hoc) about the Gandhi movement, Kiran Shankar Roy supported the idea of continuing sabotage but opposed any resort to violence in this connection. Kiran disapproved the burning of the post offices which caused inconvenience to the villagers whereas he fully endorsed the actions such as, removal of railway lines, sabotaging of the electric power houses and boiler workshops and blowing up culvert bridges by dynamite. Kiran Shankar Roy who referred to his difficulty in securing funds to help these activities, mentioned that the sum of Rs.5,000/- which he had received from the group of Ram Kumar Bhaulka, was exhausted. The principal workers engaged in this work had also been arrested. So he would go away to his native place on 6.10.42 (he actually left for home on 6.10.42). In the discussion Upen Ray advocate violence in executing the sabotage plans, if and when necessary.

———— ·X· ————

124

Prem Kishan Khanna Leads Terrorist Activities in U.P.

F.28/Cong./42-B.I October 14, 1942

From the report of a new source dated 14.10.42 we learn that Prem Kishan Khanna was to be incharge of the terrorist activities in U.P. He has formed contacts with the Bombay workers and wanted to obtain the services of an expert in explosives. They eventually got hold of a man working in the military explosive factory who gave some instructions in explosives work to Khanna. Khanna will have connections with one man only in each District. District organisers will organise parties in their own respective spheres.

Khanna also met Chandar Bhan in-charge of the terrorist activities in Meerut. Devdas Gandhi is said to have told Khanna if the Congress and terrorist activities are to be run separately.

———— ·X· ————

125
Activities of Praja Mandal in Rajasthan

F.6/15/42-II October 15, 1942

Fortnightly report dated October 15, 1942 refers to the speeches made by Praja Parishad leaders at Bharatpur and Bayana suggesting calling off the Satyagraha, but it had no effect on the public. Meetings were held and violent speeches were delivered and even it was suggested that telegraph wires should be cut and railway lines should removed, all by non-violent means. The President of the Parishad, Ryoti Sharma and Aditendra have been genuinely endeavouring to restore a better atmosphere, but they were badly heckled by the audience, but they stood their ground well and when a stone was thrown by someone at a C.I.D. Inspector on duty, they promptly interfered and condemned this kind of hooliganism. At Jodhpur processions and meetings continued. At Rajkot 14 public meetings were held attendance varying from 150 to 500. Vijayaben Harishankar was the principal speaker, she was arrested and a complete hartal was observed and 400 students led a procession. Four small locally made bombs exploded without causing damage, two in the civil station and two in the State limits. It has been reported that the Rajkot War Cabinet has formed a very revolutionary clique and this latter body is responsible for the incidents. A local pleader Kantilal Hathi is said to be the chief organiser. He was arrested. Usual processions were reported from Bhavnagar, Wadhavan C.S. 21 persons were arrested under Defence of India Rules at Bhavnagar.

Fortnightly report for the first half of October 1942 - Alwar.

A meeting of the Rajgarh Praja Mandalists from September 27 to 29, about 180 to 225 people present,

anti-British speeches made, Sachitanand suggested to students that instead of answering their examination papers they should write slogans such as Bande Matram, Hindustan Azad, English to quit India. A mass meeting was held on October 1 at Company Gardens under Har Narayan, usual objectionable speeches, a meeting of Muslim League on October 2 at Weavers Mosque on which Shabir Hussain advised Muhammadans not to join the Congress movement at Jaipur. Ram Karan was arrested for prejudicial reports found in his person containing papers on seducing military and police from their duty. The students tried to keep the shops closed on October 2 due to Gandhi Jayanti. The students were egged on by the Azadi Ka Morcha Party and are behaving as badly as ever and there have been numerous cases of people being held up, harassed and insulted. Cyclostyled pamphlets advising police to desist from their duty; the College at Navalgarh closed in September as a definite result of Ram Karan's visit before he was arrested. At one or two other places the schools closed. On October 10, there was a distrubance on the Jaipur State Railway line, a crowd having collected at Nawalgarh to welcome Hiralal Shastri who did not turn up, they held up a motor coash going from Jhunjunu and threw stones on it when it moved. At Jodhpur leaflets entitled 'Test for the Youths' asking the people to hoist National Flags and die for its honour asking the Government servants to join the agitation were found pasted. On October 8, meetings were held, speeches were made exhorting the students to go on strike and to create such revolution that the irresponsible government would be terrified and to shout the usual slogans. Women picketed the Sardar High School and it is reported that in order to embarrass the Government the All India State People's Conference has issued instructions to the people to withhold all small money change. Muslims objected to the pheris being taken through their localities. Two arrests were made. Shivkaran of Phalodi and Hari Bhai Kinker of Bojeth under Defence of India Rules.

UDAIPUR -

Objectionable speeches at Banera. Mewar Government prohibits all processions, meetings and assemblies till further orders. A Head constable and a constable who were transferred to the police lines on

complaint were arrested for shouting slogans and carrying a flag.

Baba Narsinghdas, a notorious Congressite and revolutionary of Ajmer and Jodhpur was arrested in Bombay on August 5 by the Bombay C.I.D. in connection with a case of dacoity which occurred at Vajreshwari, P.S. Padgha on August 4.

The fortnightly report dated October 15, reports meetings and processions in Alwar and Tijara, Rajgarh, nominal hartal. Some hand-written posters were found in Narayanpur inciting the students to leave schools and colleges, continued picketing of schools and colleges at Jaipur, observation of hartal on 9th. The office of the Maharaja's College was broken into and record destroyed. At Jodhpur agitation continued, processions and meetings and cyclostyled pamphlets of the usual type appeared. On Gangadas Vyas whose son, wife and nephew were already in jail was suspected of it. Shortage of small change in the city causing annoyance. Meetings at Kishangarh, Sirohi and Udaipur and distribution of objectionable literature.

C.I.D. report for 29th October, reports a meeting at Alwar and villages like Mandhan of about 50 to 60 persons. Letters purporting to have been written by the President of the Marwar Branch of the All-India Black List Party were addressed through the posters to several high officials asking them to resign within three days on pain of being murdered if they did not comply, a cyclostyled hand-written leaflet in English entitled 'To Every Railway Worker' exhorting Railway workers to understand their duty to their country and to play their part in the struggle for freedom were received. Attempts at incendiarism made at several places in Jodhpur. Railway track of the B.B.C.I. Railway just outside the Dhareshwar Railway Station tempered with, Fish plates, fish bolts removed on the 17th of October when an English was being shown at the Stadium Cinema, a bomb exploded in the first-class seats where a number of Europeans were present . An R.A.F. Mr. John was injured. Two of the culprits have been arrested. There has been a shortage of small coins in the City and in the Jodhpur bazar discount is demanded before merchants will give change for rupees. It is believed that the boarding of small coins is part of the Congress Move. Meetings at Karauli are also reported.

Fortnightly report for October 31, 1942, still reports distribution of anti-British propaganda literature, processions and meetings almost daily at which exaggerated account of occurrence in British India is given and students are exhorted to play a more active part in the struggle. Meeting at Mandhan village in Alwar, sweepers struck work on October 17 asking for more pay leave etc. at the instigation of the Praja Mandalists, fish plates were removed between Idran and Bharatpur, attempted sabotage at various other places. The villagers near the railway lines have been warned of their responsibilities in such matters and Membardars and others have been asked to execute bonds. Jaswant Cattle Fair at Bharatpur did not attract the usual number of visitors. At Jaipur change for the better is reported in the attitude of the students who were now attending schools and colleges. Jaipur Government appoints a Constitutional Reform Committee of 16 including 4 from the local Praja Mandal, several attempts at sabotage to railway lines, wire cutting reported from Jodhpur. Threatening letters were received again by various high State Officers asking them to resign on pain of death. At Sirohi, the report adds, that the movement is losing ground, but in the next para however it is stated Dhuli Chand Singhi, son of an ex-State Revenue Commissioner who has been publishing unauthorised news-bulletins has been sentenced under Defence of India Rules and a Hartal was observed by Mahajans. The State Accountant tendered his resignation on political grounds which was at once accepted, but the next morning he withdrew the resignation.

Fortnightly report for the 2nd half of October, 1942 reports Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in Tijara (Alwar) attended by 200 to 250 students. Celebrations were also held at Khairthal and Baskripal Nagar, attempts to organise a strike in the college and a hartal of shop-keepers, meeting by the students of the Rajrishi College who received from the Jaipur College students a parcel containing a bodice, bangles and mehandi. Meeting of the Praja Mandal and processions protesting against Gandhi's and other leaders arrests on October 10, Praja Mandal leaders held a meeting of condolence over the arrests of the Congress leaders in Bombay. At Jaipur cyclostyled pamphlets urging railway workers to go on strike, a case of arson in the Maharaja College on October 13, 14, in the investigation of which a volunteer Chandrashekar who was been prominent in the Azadi Ka

Morcha Party activities came to light and was arrested in seduging recruits. The Magistrate was taking notes of the speeches it made on October 22, was attacked by some persons. There has been a reconciliation between the Praja Mandal Party and the Azadi Ka Morcha Party because the Praja Mandal passed a resolution on September 25, pledging full co-operation with the Congress to end British rule. At Udaipur the Praja Mandal activities mainly confined to the distribution of anti-British and other objectionable literature.

The report for November 13/14, 1942 reports 50 feet of telegraph wire cut between Bansi Paharpur and Bund Baretha at Bharatpur, the activities at Jaipur seems to have slowed down but the military authorities report activity on the part of the Praja Mandal in anti-recruitment speeches, attendance in schools good, picketing at the office of Zoraster continues. At Jodhpur there has been a comparative lull in activities. No fresh acts of sabotage were reported at Jodhpur. It is,however, reliably learnt by the State police that according to instructions from the leading prisoners in jail that underground workers have decided to act on similar revolutionary lines to those followed at present in British India and that a few young men have been sent to Bombay, Delhi and elsewhere to learn the methods and to obtain materials.

Fortnightly report for the first half of November, 1942, reports a meeting of the Alwar Muslim League held on November 6, where Shabir Hussain complained that the authorities had not listened to the legitimate demands of the Muslims who are loyal and faithful subjects of the State, but patronised the Congress men who propagated anti-British propaganda and shouted slogans. A meeting was held to commemorate the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on November 10, about 150 persons mostly students attended, usual speeches.

Jaipur:

On November 9, marked the third month of the arrest of Gandhi and his followers and though it was intended to force a complete hartal as in the previous months, but it was given up as it was announced the citizens of Jaipur did not want it. On November 9, the remains of a bomb were found on the side of the road consisted of a lamp of clay which embodied bits of iron, glass, gun poweder and salt peter. An hour or so later three bombs were found in the civil lines. These bombs had been

placed in bangalows either belonging to or occupied recently by the British Officers. None was injured.

Jodhpur:

October 19, 1942 was observed by the local Lok Parishad workers as Bissa Day in memory of Balmukand Bissa who died whilst in custody. It is reported that Lok Parishad leaders in jail have passed out instructions to the effect that the agitation should not be dictated under the guidance of any dictator, but that individual workers and sympathisers who work according to their own desires falling generally the programme in British India. Wife of Achleshwar Prasad Sharma, who is in jail Krishna Devi, seems to have approved this line of action after a long discussion with others. As a result of the Bombay outrage in the scheme reported assumption Devraj and Lalchand with 7 others have been arrested. Revolutionary literature materials for preparing posters, sulphur gun powder have also been recovered and the accused have confessed their individual and collective part in the conspiracy. A number of cases of sabotage and incindiarism were reported. The Government State car outside the railway station was set on fire. The outer signal wire at Barmar station was cut. An attempt was made to burn the goods record office at Balatra, two railway servants have been arrested in this connection. An attempt was made to burn the stage of Sardar High School. The letters alluded to already which were addressed to high officials asking them to resign seem to have been written by B.R.Singhvi. The original draft was found with Lalchand and Devraj in the Bombay case. Krishna Devi referred to above has handed over charge of the Lok Parishad dictatorship to Vishnu Dutt Shastri of Jalore. The Hindi leaflets entitled 'heads will have to be sacrificed' by a Ganesh Lal Vyas, a prisoner in the Central Jail at Jodhpur was found in distribution.

Meetings reported by the Praja Mandal on October 25, 27 advising the students not to join schools and colleges. Meetings were reported from Palanpur at Sirohi. At Udaipur objectionable leaflets were distributed.

The fortnightly report for November 15, reports slowing down of political activities and the release of the political prisoners in Bikaner, Bharatpur (except Girdhar Singh and his associate Roshan Lal) though meetings were held at several other places where the speakers gavevent to their anti-British feelings. At

Jaipur some cases of Bomb throwing were also reported. A procession was taken out at Kotah and a meeting held where responsible Government was demanded. Mostly the students attended. Again a meeting was held at Palanpur. Students were urged to participate in all-India participation.

Public support for the agitation in Jodhpur was revived by the leaders in jail through a campaign of disobedience of daily orders, hunger-strikes and general lack of discipline. The Jodhpur Government have removed 18 of the crime prisoners to the police lines lock-up and intends to distribute the rest. Telegraph wires were cut at Jhalawar between Bhawani Mandi and Shri Chhatarpur. Meetings at Sirohi reported.

Fortnightly report for the second half of November summarises the activities of the Praja Mandal after the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders. Anti-State and anti-British meetings were held at Bharatpur, Bayana and Nadbai and Bhosawari towns. A number of students of Inter College and schools participated in processions and meetings and hartals. Praja Parishad satyagrahis came from the rural areas also were arrested. Government telegraph and telephone wires were cut at many places. The agitation was continued till the middle of September, 1942 when it was called off by Ryoti Sharma, the President of the Mandal and Aditya who started the negotiations from jail.

Jaipur:

The Azadi Ka Morcha Party still maintains an office and it was rumoured that they want to separate themselves from the Council of Action and work independently.

Jodhpur:

As already reported there are hunger-strikes in jail and Vasudeo and Krishna Nand Swami of Beawar went on fast, the latter alleging that he has been beaten by the jail authorities and the former protesting against the jail authorities refusal to remove him from the jail hospital to barrack No. 5 to allow 4 of his associates to stay with him in the jail hospital.

Kotah:

Meetings were held under the auspices of Vidyarthi Sangh held a meeting on November 2 asking for

responsible Government. There was also an attempt on taking in the city to prevent students joining the colleges and schools. There was a meeting late in the evening attended by 300 persons. Another meeting was held on November 4 and there was an appeal to the students to discontinue the agitation for a few days to enable the leaders to take stock of the situation.

Palanpur:

There was some excitement in the English schools. Boys tried to prevent others attending by picketing on November 26 and 27. All Muslim and some Hindu students attended. At Udaipur an attempt was made to set fire to records.

The report for December 3, 1942. A usual meeting on 9th November, certain boys were arrested for setting fire to letter boxes at Jaipur, a reward of Rs.500 announced for information leading to the arrest of culprits involved in the recent Bombay case. At Jodhpur the centre of activities shifted to Central Jail where the subversive activity prisoners have started civil dis-obedience shouted slogans, sang seditious songs loudly, broke jail articles. Disciplinary action is being taken against these persons and measures are under contemplation for their removal to Machai Fort near Takhat Sagar Lake which is being prepared for the purpose. More mischievous of them will be distributed.

December 15, 1942

Partial Hartal at Jaipur on December 9. Azadi Ka Morcha Party meeting on the 9th December. Anti-Govt. speeches. At least the Jaipur Government has been prevailed upon to arrest 6 prominent members of the Party under the Defence of India Rules. The Praja Mandal Secretary and others tried to organise hartal on the 10th. As a protest certain boys in schools and colleges left classes in token of sympathy. There was also a procession and it was made out that the Azadi Ka Morcha Party was not a separate organization from the Praja Mandal. Another incident of wire cutting near Bhawani Mandi in Jhalawar. Muslim leaders sent a telegram to His Majesty the King Emperor on his birthday on 20th November from Kotah.

———— ·X· ————

126

Abdus Samad Khan's Directive in Baluchistan

F.24/Cong./42-A.1 October 16, 1942

The Intelligence Bureau report dated October 16, 1942 quotes a letter of Abdus Samad Khan said to have been smuggled out by him from prison. In his letter A.S. Khan advised the members of the Committee of Anjuman-e-Watan that the dictatorship should be set up in the body and each dictator after his arrest should nominate his successor to carry on the struggle. Any person whether or not a member or supporter of the Anjuman can break the law in regard to the instructions of the dictator provided he pledges himself to adhere to non-violence. For the present only those laws were to be broken which were against the Muslim Law 'Picketing of Liquor shops, Jirgahs Law, Courts, Brothels'. He advised his followers to get printed thousand copies of an appeal from the Jacobabad press advising government servants and students to leave their respective jobs and resort to picketing. He then gives a list of the persons who have volunteered to offer satyagraha.

———— ·X· ————

127

Revelation of Underground Activities by K.D. Malviya

F.28/Cong./42-B-I October 16, 1942

Extract from C.I.O. Lucknow fortnightly report on Political situation in U.P. dated 16.10.42.

Further light was thrown on the conduct of the underground Congress movement when Kesho Deo Malviya was arrested at the end of the last fortnight. As a result of his arrest it seems certain that Congress in the U.P., have recently been financing terrorists and setting aside money for the purchase of arms. Information received from more than one secret source indicates that Malviya and other underground Congress workers like him, had begun to realise the difficulty of organising a successful mass movement and considered that the only possible way of keeping the move-

ment actively alive, was by resorting to terrorist methods of sabotage etc. They appear, however, to be anxious that there should be no proof that the Congress party is working on terrorist lines and it seems that terrorist and open activities are to be run entirely separately. Source reports indicate that the All-India offices of the terrorist and ordinary groups of Congress exist in Bombay, but there is no evidence to show that these central offices have, as yet, much influence over Provincial organisation.

128
Dr. Gairola's policy of Non-violent Violence

F.28/Cong/42-B.II October 16, 1942

The extracts from the U.P. Government fortnightly report for October, report the continuance of Bomb campaign in Meerut, Agra, Jaunpur and some outrages in Balia. In Bihar trouble was reported from Jamshedpur, Monghyr, Palamau and Patna. Plans to kill government officials were discovered at Palamau while at Rafiganj in Gaya district a small bomb factory was discovered.

There is constitution of the independent India organisation which was said to be Dr. K.N. Gairola's party. Among its policies and rules was the item non-violent violence which was explained to mean that non-violence shall be our policy not our creed. The organisation which aimed at the overthrow of the British rule and setting up of an independent Government representative of all sections of Indian community at its central working committee with the leader or the dictator as its head, provincial council of action with the provincial dictator as its head and disctrict council of action. The government of free India will be divided mainly into 4 departments and three councils of action - the departments were Defence, Propaganda, Information, Army. The council of action will comprise central council of action, provincial council of action, district council of action; then there were to be some divisions of the departments. Education, Health etc. were to go under Defence while Secret Services Section and Message Corps

will go under Information. It was the duty of the Army Department to seize arms and ammunition from British forces, cut railway lines, bridges, telegraph and telephone wires etc. Every district will have 20,000 loyal soldiers. According to the constitution the leader or the dictator will have the entire responsibility and unquestioned obedience to his orders was highly essential. Among the objectives or the programme of the party was to employ all methods violent or non-violent to free India, to paralyze the British Government, to cut railway lines, telegraph or telephone wires, raid government offices, loot government treasury etc., to make preparations for Guerilla Warfare.

———— ·X· ————

129

Sabotage in C.P. and Berar : Trial of Ashti and Chimur Convicts

F.24/Cong/42-C-I

October 16, 1942

A C.I.D. report for 16th October 1942 for C.P. & Berar reports that outwardly the condition in the province has almost returned to normal and anti-government and pro-Congress demonstrations have not been held on any considerable scale. Underground activities, however, continue and are manifest in the persistance though lessening flow of illegal leaflets and in acts of sabotage and terrorism but the Hindu public is still enemited by hatred of the British and lull in open rebellious activities remains as a result of suppression and disinclination on the part of people to seek trouble. Usual cutting of telegraph wires, buring up of post offices, setting fire to the Town Hall, holding of meetings etc. were reported from various parts of the province. Most serious attempts at sabotage was the removal of a rail on the Chanda-Ballarshah sector of the C.I.P. track on the night of the 6th instant. An empty van attached to the front of a petrol train was detailed. The Grant Trunk Express has gone through and the petrol special was to be followed by a special train carrying large quantities of ammunisation to Madras. Collective fines were imposed on one of the wards of Chand town and

two villages in the vincinity. Collective fines were imposed for cutting railway and telegraph wires near the Saugor Station and in four villages in Akola District. The Provincial Government included whipping as a punishment for these acts of sabotage. As regards Chimur and Ashti cases, 114 persons put on trial in the Ashti case for the murder of four constables and a sub-inspector of police. Justice Pollock, Special Judge at Nagpur sentenced five persons to death and four to transportation of life for the murder of a constable. 70 persons are being prosecuted for the murder of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and Naib Tahsildar; 54 for the murder of a circle inspector of police and a constable and 117 for arson and looting. Tahsildar at Ramtek who showed cowardice and inactivity in dealing with the mob has been retired compulsorily subject to further reduction in his pension which may be permissible under the rules.

The C.I.D. report for October 24, 1942 reports acts of sabotage in Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Chhindwara, Betul, Hoshangabad, Himar, Rajpur and Amraoti District. The most serious cases were attempts to wreck a railway bridge and to derail a train. Attempts were also made in some districts to persuade villagers to pay no rent.

C.I.D. report dated 31-10-42 reports acts of sabotage in Nagpur, Wardha, Chhindwara, Jabalpur, Saugor, Hoshangabad, Akola and Amraoti Districts. Most of these were cutting of wires and to burn the contents of the letter boxes, but in Nagpur city, Akola and Jabalpur districts, attempts were made to burn police buildings. No rent propaganda was reported only in Akola District. The most widely distributed leaflet was a manuscript cyclostyled letter in Hindi sent to police sub-inspectors all over the province. This was posted in Jabalpur and instigated disloyalty and the murder by poisoning etc. of treacherous Indians and of British Superintendents of Police. A collective fine of Rs.5,000 was imposed on Mohalla of Hoshangabad due to subversive activities. Rs.2,000 fine was imposed on another village. In Amraoti District where a telegraph wire was cut Rs.750 were realised as collective fine. An unoccupied police chowki in a village in Jabalpur District was partially burnt on the night of October 18. Five youths aged 15-18 were arrested; three of them had been previously

convicted of damaging a postal letter box and were whipped. The whipping scene seems to have had no effect. Congress processions seem to have been given up. The scheme for the patrolling of railway lines by village patrols is now being given effect to. The provincial government will pay remunerations to villagers drafted on to these patrols. Orders were served, served on Dr.Munje under the Defence of India Rules not to distribute or publish the reported prepared by them.

———— ·X· ————

130

Destruction of Government Property in C.P. & Berar

F.28/Cong/42-B-IB October 16, 1942

C.I.D. report for 16th October 1942 for C.P. & Berar reports that outwardly the condition in the province has almost returned to normal and anti-government and pro-Congress demonstrations have not on any such considerable scale, underground activities, however, continue and are manifest in the persistance though lessening flow of illegal leaflets and inacts of sabotage and terrorism but the Hindu public is still enemited by hatred of the British and lull is open rebellious activities remains as a result of suppression and discinclination on the part of people to seek trouble. Usual cutting of telegraph wires, burning up of post offices, setting fire to the Town Hall, holding of meetings etc. were reported from various parts of the province. Most serious attempts at sabotage was the removal of a rail on the Chanda-Ballarshah Sector of the G.I.P. track on the night of the 6th instant. An empty van attached to the front of petrol train was derailed. The Grant Trunk Express has gone through and the petrol special was to be followed by a special train carrying large quantities of ammunisation to Madras. Collective fines were imposed on one of the wards of Chanda towns and two villages in the vicinity. Collective fines were imposed for cutting railway and telegraph wires near the Saugor Station and in four villages in Akola District. The Provincial Government included whipping as a punishment for these acts of sabotage. As regards Chimur and Ashti cases, 114

persons put on trial in the Ashti case for the murder of four constables and a sub-inspector of police. Justice Pollock, Special Judge at Nagpur sentenced five persons to death and four to transportation of life for the murder of a constable. 70 persons are being prosecuted for the murder of the Sub Divisional Magistrate and Naib Tahsildar; 54 for the murder of a circle inspector of police and a constable and 117 for arson and looting. Tahsildar at Ramtek who showed cowardice and inactivity in dealing with the mob has been retired compulsorily subject to further reduction in his pension which may be permissible under the rules.

———— ·X· ————

131

Ravi Shankar Shukla Encouraged Sabotage

F.24/Cong/6 October 19, 1942

A memorandum from the Central Intelligence Officer, Central Provinces and Berar dated Nagpur 19th October, 1942 says that "further evidence on Congress responsibility for the complain of sabotage is to be found in the report of reliable source to the effect that Pt. R.S. Shukla gives premier tracing of private meeting of the Raipur District Congress Committee at Raipur on August 2, 1942 said that the programme of the Congress Movement would probably include removal of telephone apparatus, cutting of telephone wires. Also enumerated other items of more traditional non-violence type. This information was reported by the D.O.I.O., Raipur on the following day that is 3rd August 1942. So, there is no doubt as regards its truth particularly when it is taken in conjunction with what has followed.

———— ·X· ————

132

Paliwals Active in Securing Arms

F.28/Cong/42-B.I October 20, 1942

U.P. C.I.D. report for 20.10.42 refers to revolutionary and terrorist activities in Banares, Allahabad, Kanpur, Agra, Aligarh, Meerut. At Lucknow certain papers recovered from Saravjit Singh of the Lucknow Railway Union revealed that he was trying to secure or manufacture 500 pistols, 500 revolvers and 500 bombs presumably in the railway workshop. He is an ex-student of the Banares Hindu University. There are good reasons to suppose that there is a bomb factory somewhere in Aligarh. Prem Datt Paliwal and his brother Ramesh Datt Paliwal are the chief organisors in this part. Our information says that the pistols etc. are being produced on a wide scale and in many places.

According to a C.I.D. report dated September 14, 1942, there is little evidence of planning by experienced terrorists but the number of incidents and the wide distribution of groups reported to be active. In fact there is very considerable material lying ready for the organisation of more dangerous outrages. The inevitable marching of youthful patriots with more hardened revolutionaries and politico criminals in such circumstances is to be seen in the fact that Bulandshahr gang appears to have connections with the old gang Radhe Charan who exploited dacoity under the aegis of notorious political gang ster Mulkhan Singh of Aligarh in the recovery of pistols etc. in addition to Bomb making materials in Bulandshahr and Banares and the arrest of two men with one country made gun and one 28th 38 revolvers at Shahjahanpur station. One of the men Bhagelu Ram being a revolutionary had contacts with terrorist gang of Ray Deo Singh of Jaunpur and an associate of Bir Kumar Singh, the politico-criminal of Lucknow.

———— ·X· ————

133
Ambika Singh Leads Revolutionary Activities in Jaunpur

F.28/Cong/42-B.I October 20, 1942

Extract from the report from the U.P. C.I.D. dated 20.10.42 refers to the Congress terrorist activity in Jaunpur where a gang of Congress terrorists under Ambika Singh has instituted a minor reign of terror and in Kanpur where goondas Committed a series of daring hold-ups in quick succession and in Meerut a Congress sabotage is going on. It is highly satisfactory to find that their efforts to win over military and police have not met with success but at the same time is the fact that despite numerous excellent arrests by the police of organisers, leaflet producers, bomb manufacturers none of these people have been induced to make any statement whatsoever.

———— ·X· ————

134
N.G. Ranga Supports Sabotage And Terrorism

F.28/Cong./42-B.I October 20, 1942

Rai Bahadur S.N. Mahtha of Muzaffarpur, Bihar, is of the opinion that movement in Bihar will not collapse. The masses may take some time to recover from the first shock of repression. As to money he maintains that he can easily arrange Rs.25,000 and the organisers of the movement require him to do so for a number of country made revolvers. Prof. N.G. Ranga supports sabotage and terrorism. According to Krupanidhi, correspondent of the Hindustan Times, the question of money has been solved in Delhi by counterfeating currency notes.

———— ·X· ————

135

Role of Revolutionary Groups in Bengal

F.28/Cong/42-A.I. October 22, 1942

(Extract from the Bengal Review of Revolutionary Matters for the four weeks ending 22.10.1942)

District Parties

Sri Sangha

In August after the commencement of the Gandhi movement it was reported that the Sri Sangha along with members of the R.S.P. and E.V.G. organised strikes in schools and colleges in Dacca town on 12th August. The revolutionary groups of Dacca were reported to have formed a united front and to have joined the Congress movement, one of their tactics being to spread false rumours about the death of leaders. Prafulla Basu and his brother Bimal Basu, who are leading the Dacca Party in consultation with Amal Ray, organised a secret meeting at their house at Bakshibazar and issued instructions.

xx xx xx

It was in pursuance of these instructions that telephone wires were cut in Urdu Road and Bakshibazar, that two D.I.E. watchers were assaulted in Urdu Road, and that the car of the Additional Superintendent of Police, Dacca, was stoned.

xx xx xx

In September, the members of the party were reported to have formed a Council of Action which included members of the R.S.P., E.V.G., Jugantar Party, Suspended Congress and the Official Congress with a view to deciding the course of action in the Congress movement.

xx xx xx

E.V. Groups:

Since the Gandhi movement started some members of this group have co-operated with members of the Sri Sangha and R.S.P. in organising strikes and hartals in Dacca town and Narayanganj and have whipped a medical student in Dacca for attending school. A Council of Action is reported to have been formed in the Dacca city by representatives of this group, Sri Sangha,

Jugantar and R.S.P. which would decide the course of action of the Congress movement. The Council, it is reported, would try to organise a strike of the workers of the Bengal and Assam Railway. It is reported that Nihar Ray, the present leader of the party in Dacca, does not want any member to take a leading part in the Congress movement and court arrest.

136
The Tragedy of Chimur

F.28/Cong/42-B.5 October 23, 1942

Extract from the C.I.O. Nagpur daily report No. 215 dated 23.10.42. The following is a bulletin intercepted by police which quotes the tale of Chimur. It is entitled "Lamentable tale of Chimur", Chanda District. Chimur is a village with a population of 6,000 in the District of Chanda, C.P. It is surrounded practically on all sides by a thick jungle and is only communicated with Warora the headquarters of the Tehsil and a railway station on the Wardha-Ballarsha line. It is a rich village, having sardar like big families of Nayaks and Bagades with an old big wadas. The place is politically conscious and has local branches of the R.S.S., Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. No consistent story can be traced of the recent happenings which took place on Nag Panchami, the 16th August, 1942 as all the male population of the place is either under arrest or has run away through fear of arrest but the net result that all the government offices, one Sub-Divisional Officer, One Circle Inspector of Police, one Naib Tehsildar were killed and burnt. All the government buildings, the police station with its residential quarters, the schools and the rest hours were burnt. The government went to make out that it was a well planned programme in which all males of the village and the surrounding ones were involved while really it was the outcome of a mob frenzied which was provoked by the arrest of certain Congress workers on the day and the subsequent lathi-charge and firing by the police on a prabhat-pheri which was unusually large due to arrests. It is always found wherever these things happen that the police being proud of their

lathis and guns treat the mob with contempt, take initiative and when their guns become empty and the lathis broken they are overpowered by the mob with their numbers and are avenged upon for their present and past actions and tyranny, and in the far off places like these where no armed help can be available for the police, the mob gets the temporary success. With the above mentioned temporary success the mob at Chimur went on the block the only communication to Warora. They blocked it for over two miles by cutting huge big trees and spreading their trunks and branches over the road, and by damaging the culvert that crosses a small river or a brook. The District Magistrate at Chanda who marched towards the place with a batch of 50 armed policemen on the 17th got terrified and lost all courage. We went back and reported these happenings in bright colours even with exaggeration to the local government either by a personal visit to Nagpur or otherwise stating that there was a very big armed rebellion in the jungles of Chimur which cannot be put down without a strong regiment of Whites fully equipped. On the 19th a special train reached the station of Warora with 200 White soldiers and 50 Indians fully equipped with military basis for their transport to Chimur 33 miles off. The District Magistrate reached the place the same day or next with this army escort and thus began the ordeal of the people of Chimur. The terror stricken people big or small hid themselves in their houses either in big wadas or in cottages and barred the door from inside. There was none to be found in the streets and the whole village seemed to be deserted. The District Magistrate went to the houses of some of these big wadas with a military escort and broke open their houses and hunted out every male member, got them beaten and arrested excluding the old and young ones. He arrested about 120 persons.

In order to feed the military and the police, the stores of these villagers were broken open, their utensils and eatables taken away, their properties gold and silver and everything taken away by force. The ladies however, tried to save their honour. They were shrewed enough to assemble at night in one room and link themselves hand in hand. When the soldiers came in the house with guns and asked them in a thundering voice to get out they all in a link used

to get out and say that if the soldiers touched them, they would get themselves killed. When again they were ordered to get in the whole link got in, so the soldiers could not find any privacy. However, some ladies they found and teased them. The houses of the poor provided a fit place for these soldiers to indulge in outrages. There are reports of cases of women in advance pregnancy, newly delivered ones when bleeding, in menses and girls of tender age being molested. This does not mean that there are hundreds of such cases or that over 50% of women population is molested as the rumours are, but such cases there are and in good many numbers which can only be traced if a responsible non-official enquiry is held.

This set of things continued for two days. At last an old lady Dadi Bai Beg took courage and reached the D.M. through the guns and bayonets and the patrolling guards anyhow. She narrated to him the whole situation. The D.M. is said to have told her that their husbands sons and brothers had invited the military and it was the natural outcome of that. He, however, promised to look the matter. No enquiry was held. A soldier who was traced hunting a lady and was handed over to the Captain was given a departmental sentence of flogging. On the 26th the military left the place. In the meantime however, the local government imposed a fine of one lakh on the village and its surroundings. The collection of fine was started on the 26th and was completed in a week's time with all earnestness and zeal. No attachment of movable or immovable property was found necessary. This does not mean that the people had the cash, but it shows the amount of tyranny to which the women-folk of the village who had to make arrangement of the fine were put to. Thus the three stages of the tyranny were (i) beating and arrest, (ii) looting, plundering and molestation of women, (iii) collection of fine; and now runs the fourth stage of tyranny, investigation of offences. The village of Chimur which consists mainly of women population is cut off from the outside world for the last 5 weeks and is under control of the military; 144 section prevails. There have been about 400 arrests and according to the D.M. many of them will be hanged. Go to Chimur and you will find every house in mourning. Meet any woman of Chimur and you will find her with tears in her eyes imploring you to try to release her husband, brother or son.

Here is a copy of the report prepared by a deputation of the Women's Association, Nagpur. Mrs. Dwarka Bai Deoskar, Miss Vimla Bai Abhyankar and Mrs. Vimla Bai Deshpande visited Chimur on the 18th and 19th September, to look into the conditions of Chimur. They relate how they were shadowed by the police everywhere they went and how the houses where they stayed was completely under police watch. A word was sent to us by the Sub-Inspector that we were not to stir out of the house nor was anybody to see us in the house. On the pretext of visiting a temple we were able to meet certain ladies and listen to their tale of woe and misery. From the tales of women at Warora and Chimur from the evidence obtained by Mrs. Wazalwar during her visit to the worst affected parts of Chimur, from the signs of leaving everywhere in evidence at the big bidas and from the field of the completely waded town and temporary construction atmosphere that were experienced during our short stay we got a fairly good picture of the atrocities that were committed at Chimur during the fateful days of the 19th, 20th and 21st August, 1942. The report relates that all the men folks excepting only the children and the old decrepit were arrested on the 19th. Their houses were taken possession of and everything was looted. The soldiers out-raged the women to their heart's content. In order to save themselves in hay, fodder or any dirty rubbish they could find to hide. Women tried to protect themselves by keeping together in batches of 25 to 30 for two whole days - 20th and 21st. All the provisions in their houses being taken away by the soldiers, the whole population even the infants starved. The soldiers hunted young women from place to place and outraged them even in bye-lanes. No woman was safe even the pregnant or the girls of 12 or 13. The report attaches the application of some women who had been outraged and has been signed by Vimal Abhyankar and Mrs. Vimla Bai Deshpande.

There is another report by Dr.Mrs. Wazalivar who along with Mrs.Ramabai Tambe and some other ladies went to Chimur on the 19th September 1942. The relevant extracts are as follows: 'I feel absolutely stunned, even to think, of what I heard and saw. Of what little I know of past history, I cannot remember any incidents of such kind. I visited the place lane by lane, all the houses practically have no men folk, women were panic-striken still. Their tears were glass and visitors they saw

and received them with great suspicion. None could dare say anything except that their men folk are in jails, some talked of looting, plundering and damage to their properties and articles and of over-taxation and how difficult it was for them to get the amount demanded. I can only get the information about the molestation of women on the 20th. It was clear that the ladies were trying to hide the facts as no woman likes to admit such a thing both for the sake of her own reputation and for the dignity of the family. She then attaches a number of cases of molestation and the unspeakable outrages committed by the soldiers. Included in these cases of out-rages are those of girls of 12 and 13 years of age, pregnant women and women in menses. There is a case of the wife of the Surpunch being sought after and searched for by Indian soldiers and white soldiers who were eager to molest her. They threatened to burn her house and shoot her if she did not yield to their demands. She, however, managed to escape, passes a night in a Chamar's house and walked with a daughter of 4 years in her arms, reached Besur in the evening and thus saved herself from their clutches.

An extract from the C.I.O. Nagpur daily report dated 24.10.42 refers to a reliable source saying that K.M. Munshi who is here to defend the accused in the Chimur cases, is doing so at the request of Janki Bai, widow of late Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj. She is also reported to be financing the defence of the cases in question. It is reliably learnt that in private conversations with various persons at Nagpur, K.M. Munshi expressed views in sympathy with the present Civil Disobedience Movement and spoke highly of the spirit of the people of Ahmedabad and he said are organising Suicide Corps members of which will court death in face of the authorities.

In a bried statement Dr.Moonje demanded a judicial enquiry into the outrages and allegations of rape at Chimur, but the demand was turned down by the Government.

———— ·X· ————

137

Acharya Jugal Kishore Appointed 'Director' in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B.I

October 26, 1942

According to a statement of Prem Krishan Khanna of U.P. he has been able to enlist the co-operation of a qualified chemical experts including some in the government service in Delhi to help him in the manufacture of incendiary bombs. In this connection Khanna is endeavouring through his friends to make an approach to Sir Bhatnagar to have his advice. According to another report Acharya Jugal Kishore ex-Parliamentary Secretary had been appointed dictator of the U.P.C.C. in place of K.D. Malviya who was arrested. Sharif Ahmed Siddiqi has been appointed organiser of the Agra Distt. Ram Balli of Kanpur has severed his connections with the Congress and organised a gang of 15 undesirable Congress volunteers and goondas with the intention on collecting money for the movement. According to a reliable source Dr.Keskar in collaboration with Sadiq Ali is carrying on the work of the AICC with headquarters at Delhi. Commenting on the present Congress movement Dr. Keskar considered that it was a good sign that the political workers had come to realise that the only aim was independence and violence and non-violence were meaningless phrases. Gandhi's conception of non-violence was very wide and could accommodate every kind of act short of murder provided the cause was right and just.

———— ·X· ————

138

Leaders of Underground Activities

F.24/Cong/6

October 29, 1942

In a circular memorandum dated October 29, 1942 to Deputy Director (A), I.B.H.D. mentioned the following persons as suspective of directing the present Congress activities of inter-provincial nature; they are underground and their arrest was urged: Dr.Ram Manohar Lohia, U.P. Purshottamdas Tricumdas (Bombay), Achyut Patwardhan (Bombay), Sadiq Ali (AICC), Girdhari Lal Kriplani (Sindh) nephew of J.B. Kriplani, Miss Khurshed Naoroji (Bombay) grand daughter of late Dada Bhai Naoroji, Dr. J.C.

Kumarappa (C.P. & Berar), B.K.L. Nandkeolyar (bihar), Annanda Prasad Chowdhury(Bengal), Bijoy Lal Chatterji (Bengal), Dr.K.N. Gairola (U.P.) Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali (Delhi), Sheel Bhadra Yajee (Bihar), Mukand Lal Sarkar (Bengal), Jai Prakash Narain (Bihar), who escaped from Hazaribagh Central Jail on 9-11-42, Ramnandan Misra (Bihar) who escaped from Hazaribagh Central Jail, Prem Krishan Khanna who escaped from police custody on 11.11.42.

———— ·X· ————

139
Defiance of police by Mobs in Bombay

F.24/Cong./42-VII October 30, 1942

The Bombay C.I.D. in its letter dated October 30, 1942 reported that there have been no instances to disarm police officers in Bombay city though there have been instances "in the districts of Surat, Baroch, east Khandesh and Belgaum where mobs have succeeded in defying police authorities and carrying away muskets and ammunition." No attempts seem to have been made so far to establish parliamentary governments except perhaps in Ahmedabad city where an occasional show off parliamentary authority is being put up with a view to impress the authorities about the strength of the Congress. These shows however, do not seem to have any greater value than mere propaganda status. The letter concludes.

In its letter the Special Branch I, C.I.D. Bombay dated November 4, 1942 informed though this circular put the similar one to Quit India Bulletin No. 1 dated September 27, 1942 it was suggested that the drafting of these instruction "is undoubtedly the work of Purshottam Trikamdas and his friends of the Congress Socialist Party who have been directing the movement from underground.

———— ·X· ————

140
Congress Campaign of Sabotage and Terrorism in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B-II October 30, 1942

Extract from the U.P.C.I.D. "Brief note on subversive activity for the fortnight ending November 9, 1942", received from C.I.O. U.P. and Ajmer.

"The Congress campaign of sabotage and terrorism continues but, despite the occurrence of a number of derailments, station burnings and other dangerous forms of sabotage, the total incidence and the character of the outrages committed approve that the results are negligible when viewed in the light of the size of the province and extent of the material available to subverse organisations. In the great majority of cases little skill and no direction is evident, and nowhere is there any evidence that co-ordination of effort sufficient to affect the administration to any extent has been effected. Where signs of concerted and planned effort were forthcoming Police action nipped developments in the bud, and, though a continuance of sabotage may be expected, it can confidently be hoped that a continuance of police pressure will prevent co-ordination of effort and gradually root out the local organisations responsible. Criminals are exploiting the situation for their own ends, but the marked decrease in dacoity in the East of the province is a gratifying symptom of a return to normal conditions."

———— ·X· ————

141
Sabotage in Bihar handiwork of unskilled hands

F.28/Cong/42-B.II October 30, 1942

Copy of secret memo No. 16170 S.B. dated 30th October, 1942, from Special Asstt. Security, C.I.D., Bihar, Patna, to the Asstt. Director (S), Intelligence Bureau, H.D., New Delhi.

Sabotage to road and rail communications and telegraphs and telephones was widespread in the districts

of Patna, Shahabad, Chapra, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Monghyr and some parts of Gaya. These were the worst districts and although the other Bihar districts were not free, they were less affected. There was very little sabotage in the Chotanagpur districts.

Practically all sabotage, which occurred, was not done with any degree of technical skill nor were places chosen because of their vulnerability. It was unbridled mass hooliganism, sometimes with the object of obstructing police and military movements while looting was in progress. The only occurrence which shows any technical knowledge was the attempt to blow up the Matkuria bridge in Dhanbad. This is an important major bridge and the attempt was evidently made with explosive of the gelignite type. There are plenty of shot firers in the coal mines used to handling explosives every day and the fact that the attempt was a miserable failure detracts from its importance from the technical point of view. It seems likely that this particular bridge was not chosen because it was of strategic importance but because it happened to be handy. Although the saboteurs were in possession of explosives their material was probably old and they showed no skill in its use.

———— ·X· ————

142
Bomb Incidents in Sind

F.28/Cong/42-P-I October 31, 1942

(Extract from the reports on the internal political situation for the 2nd half of October 1942 received from Sind province (through Home Department).

Political

There have been a number of incidents during the period under report. Cride country made bombs have been found, one in the Chief Court, two in railway carriages, attempts were made to set fire to a receo record room and an office building in Karachi, there have been two cases of wire cutting and one case of tampering with the railway track in the town of Sukkur. Fortunately no damage worth mention resulted. The

fuse of the bomb in the Chief Court was nipped out by a peon, neither of the bombs in the railway carriages was ignited, while the persons interfering with the railway track were caught in the act. In addition, a "bomb factory" was located in a house in Karachi and the persons connected with it arrested.

———— ·X· ————

143

Damage to Government Property in C.P. & Berar

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV October 31, 1942

C.I.D. report dated 31-10-42 reports acts of sabotage in Nagpur, Wardha, Chhindwara, Jabalpur, Saugor, Hoshangabad, Akola and Amraoti Districts. Most of these were cutting of wires and to burn the contents of the letter boxes, but in Nagpur city, Akola and Jabalpur districts, attempts were made to burn police buildings. No rent propaganda was reported only in Akola District. The most widely distributed leaflet was a manuscript cyclostyled letter in Hindi sent to police sub-inspectors all over the province. This was posted in Jabalpur and instigated disloyalty and the murder by poisoning etc. of treacherous Indians and of British Superintendents of Police. A collective fine of Rs.5,000 was imposed on Mohalla of Hoshangabad due to subversive activities. Rs.2,000 fine was imposed on another village. Amraoti District where a telegraph wire was cut Rs.750 were realised as collective fine. An unoccupied police chowki in a village in Jabalpur District was partially burnt on the night of October 18. Five youths aged 15-18 were arrested; three of them had been previously convicted of damaging a postal letter box and were whipped. The whipping scene seems to have had no effect. Congress processions seem to have been given up. The scheme for the patrolling of railway lines by village patrols is now being given effect to. The provincial government will pay remunerations to villagers drafted on to these patrols. Orders were served on Dr.Manje under the Defence of India Rules not to distribute or publish the reports prepared by them.

———— ·X· ————

144

Government's Concern for Activities of Lohia and Malaviya

F.24/Cong./24-VII November 4, 1942

Copies of these instructions according to the D.I.G. Police, C.I.D. Bombay in its letter dated November 4, 1942 says were widely circulated in different languages in the shape of bulletins or leaflets issued by the Provincial Congress Committee.

Superintendent of Police, C.I.D. S.B. U.P. informed G. Ahmed, Deputy Director (Administration), I.B., H.D., Government of India, New Delhi, that the instructions issued by Lohia have not come to notice in this province in the exact wordings as set out by you. Special points, however, from the instructions said to have been issued by Lohia have appeared in programme which have come to notice in this province, believed to have been issued by Kesho Deo Malviya. The Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. Department, N.W.F.P. reported that the spirit of the instructions is being observed as regards certain items. Leaders who are at large, it is not proposed to interfere with at present are holding a few meetings declaring that the British administration has come to an end. There has, however, been no suggestion that the people now owe allegiance to local departments nor has any attempt been made to take possession of government arms and record non-violently.

———— ·X· ————

145

Acharya Jugal Kishore as Chief Organiser in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B.II November 7, 1942

According to a report dated 7.11.42 from U.P. a meeting of the provincial Congress workers was held in the All India Congress Office in Delhi on the 29th of October. Among those who attended the meeting were Acharya Jugal Kishore who has taken the place of K.D. Malviya in U.P. and Prof. Pant of Allahabad and Hari

Shankar Vidyartrhi of Kanpur. Acharya Jugal Kishore said that he had divided U.P. into three zones with head-quarters at Agra, Banares and Kanpur. Acharya Jugal Kishore is thinking of moving U.P.C.C Office from Allahabad to Delhi. Kanpur zone will be under Ram Sarup Gupta. According to a casual source report dated 6.11.42 Remeshwar Sahai Sinha was said to have been asked to work as chief organiser in U.P. by Malviya before his arrest. He told the eastern parts of the province and Faizabad, Sultanpur, Barabanki, Raei Barelli etc. to organise Congress work. According to Sinha a Congress work in western districts was being controlled by one Bishambhar of Allahabad. Sinha said that he had arranged for Bishambhar to keep the American press representative in Delhi informed of the various acts of repression alleged to have been committed by U.P. and Bihar Governments. Sinha also said that Rai Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri and the Raja of Hara helped Congress by collecting funds from the Awadh Talukdars. Merchants of Kanpur are also said to be financing the movement. According to a report dated 10.11.42, 6 political prisoners including J.P., Ram Nandan Misra, Suraj Narain Singh and extremist elements of the H.S.R.A. or C.S.P. escaped from Hazaribagh, Delhi. The Superintendent of this jail recently took leave on medical grounds.

———— ·X· ————

146

Revelation Regarding Sabotage by Prem Kishen Khanna

F.28/Cong/42-C

November 11, 1942

Copy of secret letter No. 28/Cong/42-C,from I.B., H.D. New Delhi addressed to Intelligence Bureau of bombay, Poona, Lucknow, Patna etc.

You will be interested in the following report believed to be reliable, about Prem Kishen Khanna (S.No. 247 U.P. Political Who's Who and No. 176 U.P. list) who appears to be in fairly close touch with the programme and plans of the C.S.P.:

"According to Prem Kishan Khanna (who escaped from the custody of the Delhi Police on 11.11.42), the

headquarters of both the A.I.C.C. and the A.I.C.S.P. are located in Bombay. The entire "sabotage" movement is being directed and financed from Bombay."

2. Khanna maintained that he had met Devdas Gandhi frequently to help him with the activities of the Delhi Provincial Congress in addition to organising on behalf of the Socialists a separate branch for "sabotage" activities. Khanna also disclosed that the Socialists now dominate the parallel organisation conducted in various provinces under the direction of the Congress-ites. Khanna described the division of work as follows:

(A) Congressites - Engaged primarily in propaganda, e.g. printing of bulletins, organisation or processions and demonstrations. They also lent their support more or less independently of the Congress Socialists to Violence and sabotage.

(B) Socialists - Engaged purely on the organisation of sabotage work supported by Forward Blocists and old Terrorists.

3. Khanna said that there was not the least doubt in the minds of the organisers of the Congress socialist Party Programme (Khanna claimed to be one of the organisers for Delhi and neighbouring districts like Meerut, Agra, etc.) that they could, despite Govern-ment repression, organise a large scale sabotage move-ment for which there was an ample supply of both men and money. According to Khanna, the Congress socialists claimed that the first onslaught after Gandhi's arrest was organised to convince the Japanese of India's capability to give them a helping hand when they invaded the country. When it become apparent that the Japanese were not responding, the Congress Socialists changed their plans. They now propose to conserve and build up their strength for an appropriate occasion but "minor" acts of sabotage will continue here and there. Mass sabotage is of no particular use unless supported by an invasion. Congress Socialists are much excited, according to Khanna, over the escape of Jai Prakash Narain and others.

4. Khanna has given the impression that the cauragious Socialists have been successful in spreading a net-work of agents over the United provinces, Bihar, Bombay,

Madras and Delhi Provinces to carry out the Party programme. In the case of Delhi, men with technical experience were not sufficiently advailable and accordingly reinforcements were imported from the Benares Hindu University."

———— ·X· ————

147

Rebellion Much More Serious in Villages

F.24/Cong/6 November 16, 1942

While discussing the Congress campaign and measures adopted to cope with it, the Conference accepted the view that Intelligence had failed to furnish the true indication of the degree of spontanecus support which was to be forthcoming for Congress for its campaign. The conference held the view that while the very responsibility for the rebellion was entirely of Congress, there was no organisation in detail before the arrest of the Congress leaders. Their view was that the arrest and other factors such as an unfortunately controlled press, the Axis broadcast, the help of subversive bodies other than Congress and Congress leaders still at large, had been combined to afford control and to intensify anti-British feelings already inflamed by Congress and other propaganda and by thwarted feelings resulting from the general political situation. The situation was much more difficult to deal with in villages and small towns and they expressed the view that the Intelligence structure caters for political organisations and for suspects mainly in cities. It is not necessarily a safeguard against the movement which commands wide public sympathy and support especially when the movement spread beyound the cities and it blamed the people for not cooperating with it fully. It also complained that it did not receive any support from Government servants which regarded the campaign as the usual war between the Congress and the police and did little or nothing to pass on the information which came into their possession.

———— ·X· ————

148
Subversive Activities in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B-II November 23, 1942

According to a note on subversive activities in U.P. for the period ending 23.11.42, the statements made at Dehra Dun, Agra and Allahabad by political prisoners serve to show the pattern of provincial attempt. It is clear that the All India organisation of Congress appears to be functioning from Bombay with possibly a branch in Delhi. In the provinces, Allahabad has been the chief organisational centre and considerable information has been obtained as to the personalities concerned and the methods adopted. So far as can be ascertained at present organisation is extremely haphazard and inefficient one and this is evident in the failure to bring about any cohesive effort at serious sabotage and terrorism that the C.S.P. has been and is largely in the control is also further proved.

This very report gives the details of fresh outbreaks of terrorism, tampering of railway lines in Azamgarh, burning of a branch post office, murder of a daffadar in Kanpur who was the successor of a daffadar who has already been murdered. Burning of a forest rest house in Dehra Dun and another in Nainital, attacks on mail runners.

———— ·X· ————

149
Gandhi's Message Sent Through His Nephew Before Arrest

F.24/Cong/6 November 24, 1942

A source report dated 24-11-42 from a person who is said to be "a well placed source who in the past has provided us with authentic information about Congress affairs says there is a difference of opinion among the Congress-men in the Punjab jails whether Gandhi could have intended all the violence that has occured. However, certain leaders like Krishan Gopal Dutt recalls that the last message Gandhi gave to Kannoo, Kannoo Bhai Gandhi, his newphew-valet who was his prisoner attendant and masseur was that all was non-

violence except injury to the person. The view of the Delhi Congress Leader is that the Congress machinery was not fully geared up when the disturbances broke. Some detailed preparation said to have been made in the Provinces like Bihar, U.P. and Delhi, Provinces such as Punjab had no idea of how to act. The same sources said that Gandhi was very furious that the Congress was baulked out of power when the Cripps Mission came. Gandhi was fully convinced of the inability of the British to defend India against Japanese. Gandhi did not want a Japanese invasion but he also wanted that the menace of Japanese invasion gave him an fine opportunity perhaps never to be repeated to extort power from Britain. If the British refused the Congress would strike with all its power when the invasion commenced. British power in India would at once be paralysed. Congress would then expect and receive special treatment from the Japanese. Pakistan and the Muslims would be finally "settled" with Japanese help. Gandhi, however, expected that the Britain would yield to Congress earlier.

According to the same source Gandhi did not mean to commence his movement after about a month of the Bombay Session. The intervening period was to be utilized for making preparations in case Britain did not yield meantime. Japan was expected to clinch the issue with invasion if Britain did not yield.
Hindu big business believing that Congress would one day be in power supported this policy. For example, according to Desh Bandhu Gupta, Sir Siri Ram and Ranjit Singh son of Sardar Bahadur Narain Singh, a local military contractor, rendered substantial assistance. Congressmen in certain Punjab jails were according to the same source dealt with by the jail staff strictly in accordance with the letter of the law. No interviews, no newspapers were allowed. In atleast one jail the staff was extremely venal. Now that the war has taken a turn for good for the allies, some of the Congressmen think it to be a great blunder to have adopted this policy. Delhi Congress leaders made preparations for the movement from August. Labour, students, etc., were organised and funds were made available from Sir Siri Ram and Ranjit Singh and then follows the same note which has already been quoted on Delhi Preparations leaving blank only the date of Gandhi's arrest, etc.

There are important abstracts from the Special Branch, C.P. & Berar, Nagpur, November 24, 1942,

regarding the Congress instructions and Programmes.

Extract 1 according to reliable source who attended the AICC Session at Bombay 'after Gandhi's arrested printed instructions for carrying on Satyagraha were distributed to all the Congress workers of all provinces who were present in Bombay. It is believed that they were drawn up by Gandhi during the short interval between the arrival of the police and his arrest. According to the source who passed this copy of the instructions on them concerned hartals, industrial strikes, no tax campaign, boycott of schools and colleges, persuading government servants (including police and military) to resign and close with an exhortation that in the campaign everybody must consider himself a leader. Although such did not figure in the printed instructions, the source reports, the talks amongst the members of the AICC showed that they were in favour of interrupting communications by cutting telegraph and railway lines.

———— ·X· ————

150

Dr. Keskar and Dr. Gairola Work Out Programme of Sabotage

F.28/Cong/42-B.II November 28, 1942

According to a report from a new source dated 28.11.42 to AICC office sanctioning from Bombay with a branch in Delhi of which Dr. Keskar is incharge of both the branches to avoid such violence which may cause injury to human beings. The AICC circular gave instructions that non-violence must be adhered to. In the opinion of the source which he forms after consulting with Congress workers the derailment of passenger trains was entirely the work of terrorists unconnected with Congress while in others the terrorist branch of the Congress Party helped by workers of other terrorist groups were the culprits. This division is merely on paper and actually it is exceedingly difficult to make any clear distinctions between them. Acharya Jugal Kishore who is in-charge of U.P. had his head-quarters at Delhi. Formerely U.P. was divided into 7 divisions, but after the arrest of Malviya it has been

brought into three with headquarters at Banares, Agra and Kanpur. Those present in the meeting included Dr. Gairola, Keskar, Radhe Shyam, Gopi Nath Sinha, Sanat Kumar Malviya, nephew of K.D. Malviya, Kashi Nath Jaiswal. The decisions arrived at by them emphasize the need of adhering to non-violence in the fulfilment of the programme of Congress, training in sabotage work in their respective zones, observation of the 9th day of every month, Congress workers in hiding should work actively or should surrender themselves. The terrorist group which met on November 26 objected to Congress sabotage programme which was not possible without causing loss of life. Ultimately it was decided to co-operate only with those Congress workers who are for violence.

———— ·X· ————

151

Dr. Gairola to Help Set up a Wireless Set

F.28/Cong/42-B-II December 2, 1942

According to a new source report dated 2.12.42 Gairola was requested to go to Bombay by the AICC to help them in installing a wireless transmitting set there. This set was to be used for broadcasting Congress news from a sound proof house in Bombay. It is said the AICC party has 4 or 5 transmitting sets in Bombay. Siri Ram Sharma in-charge Congress Agra brought instructions for each province from Bombay to send immediate news of activities in their respective provinces to bombay so that it may be broadcast. The circular which he brought called upon each province to furnish a list of police stations, railway stations, post offices and other important offices in each district together with an estimate of the strength of the staff in each case. According to this report Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who is in Bombay is in-charge of the publicity section of the AICC.

———— ·X· ————

152

Socialists reactivising the Movement and regrouping Districts in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-C

December 4, 1942

SECRET
No.C/S.10.B.Sat.

Criminal Investigation Deptt.
Special Branch, U.P.
Dated Lucknow 4th Dec. 1942.

My dear Sir,

Will you please refer to A.I.G., C.I.D's D.O. No. 644/C.O-42, dated October 5, 1942. In continuation thereof I am writing now to give you the outline of the latest known plans of the Congress and Socialist parties directed to the furtherance of the general movement.

2. Whilst it may safely be said that the main Congress movement throughout the province is at a very low ebb and is being kept alive only in a few centres, for the most part by propaganda disseminated through the medium of a much reduced circulation of Congress leaflets, there are definite indications of efforts being made to reorganise the disappointed adherents of the party still at large and of encouragement given to the subversive organisation to foster enthusiasm through more determined terrorist activity.

3. Information at our disposal shows that main all India control and direction is still emanating from Bombay, where the Headquarters of the A.I.C.C. and A.I.C.S.P. are functioning as best as they can. However, various prominent members of the party have of late been meeting in Delhi and it is from this latter place that the principal effort to reorganise the movement in the United Provinces is being made. It would appear that Acharya Jugal Kishore, now in Delhi, has succeeded Keso Deo Malviya as "Dictator" of U.P., though he is reported to be reluctant to cross the border. His first step in effecting reorganisation has been to divide the province into three parts with headquarters at Agra, Benares and Cawnpore respectively. The grouping of districts is as follows:-

1. AGRA - Agra, Aligarh, Muttra, Etah, Mainpuri, Meerut, Moradabad, Bijnor, Budaun, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Saharanpur, Dehra Dun and Garhwal.

2. BENARES - Ballia, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Benares, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Partabgarh, Sultanpur, Fyzabad, Basti and Gorakhpur.

3. CAWNPORE- Rest of the districts in U.P.

4. The organiser in charge of the Benares Group is so far unknown. The Cawnpore Group is said to be in the charge of Ram Sarup Gupta and it is understood that Sri Ram Sharma of Agra has been appointed incharge of the Agra Group. Sri Ram Share is suspected, along with Prem Dutt Paliwal and others, of making arrangements for the acquirement and distribution of bombs in the Agra area, and on his return recently from Bombay to Delhi is reported to have brought with him the latest circular of the A.I.C.C. This circular is said to contain instructions for the prompt furnishing of information to the Bombay centre for publication and broadcast purposes, and also to have called for details of the Police Stations with postings, Post Offices, Jails, Mills and other buildings of importance in each district. Source information indicates that one such report complete with map, estimation of police and military strength and reference to the labour and work at important factories has already been prepared and submitted for the city of Cawnpore. The significance of the preparation of these maps and details lies in the programme of the Congress Socialist Party, to which I refer below.

5. Following meetings held in Delhi, Acharya Jugal Kishore has now issued instructions for the regrouping of the U.P. into three parts and for the general conduct of the campaign. These instructions are now known to be in circulation in the Hindi script and a translation of this I attach for your information.

6. I would draw your particular attention to the later portion of para 5 and to para 11. It has already been indicated that a separate organisation was being formed for the preparation of revolutionary and terrorist acts throughtout the province. There is now every reason to believe that this duty has been taken over by the Congress Socialist Party and that they have succeeded in enlisting the assistance of experienced revolutionaries and terrorists still at large. A statement made recently in Delhi by a prominent Socialist leader supported further by source information shows that the party has ample funds for the furtherance of

its programme, which is mainly to prepare for mass sabotage to be launched when deterioration in the situation following Japanese aggression provides the most suitable opportunity and in the meantime to arrange for minor acts of sabotage throughout the province to maintain adequate morale and enthusiasm.

7. Already a very large number of cast iron bomb-shells are known to have been prepared in Delhi, of which, following recoveries there and in Agra, over one hundred are still to be accounted for. Our information is that the Socialist party plan is to distribute bombs and explosives to all important centres in the U.P. and that similar bomb-shells have already reached Cawnpore. Chandra Bhushan Shukla (Barabanki & Lucknow), a prominent Socialist leader, is now believed to be directing the party's activity in the U.P. Recent extensive arrests and recoveries in Lucknow, Benares and Mainpuri confirm that effective contact has already been established with revolutionaries of note such as Jogesh Chandra Chatterji (Lucknow), Hari Pratap Tiwari (Gorakhpur), Chutkun Misra (Azamgarh), Bhagwan Prasad Shukla (Azamgarh & Benares), Mukund Singh Vaid (Saharanpur), Puttu Singh (Mainpuri) - all recently arrested together with large quantities of arms, ammunition, bomb-shells and explosives.

8. All this evidence - taken together with the knowledge that details and maps of important areas are being called for and prepared - points to a serious attempt on the part of subversive elements, now combining under C.S.P. leadership, to indulge in an extensive programme of sabotage and terrorism, backed by Congress funds, sympathy and support. That their plans have so far to a very great extent been thwarted by many good arrests and recoveries cannot be denied but as it is the obvious intention of the leaders to reorganise their groups and generally put new life into the movement, it is desirable that leaders of the Socialist party likely to operate in this province be traced and arrested. Such Socialist party leaders at present wanted are: 1. Jai Prakash Narain (Bihar), 2. Yugendra Shukul (Bihar), 3. Prem Kishan Khanna (Shahjehanpur), Gopi Nath Singh (Cawnpore), 5. Chandra Bhushan Shukla (Barabanki & Lucknow), 6. Baswan Singh (Bihar), 7. Raghunath Prasad Kulsharesth (Cawnpore) and 8. Anand

Prakash Rastogi (Budaun). At the same time the necessity for the arrest of such Congress leaders as are supporting and financing these activities is in no way lessened. The more prominent are : Dr. Gairola (Benares), Prof. Radhe Shyam (Benares), Prem Datt Paliwal (Agra), Badan Singh, M.L.A. (Budaun), Ram Manohar Lohia (Cawnpore - at present Bombay), Sri Ram Sharma (Agra) and Acharya Jugal Kishore (Muttra - now Delhi).

9. The recent orders permitting detention u/r 129, D.I.R. in police custody for purposes of interrogation have already borne fruit and much useful information has been obtained to enable us to check and prevent terrorist and revolutionary acts. As the plans of the Congress become more and more subversive and hence secret in nature the necessity for this detention and interrogation is increased and therefore it is requested that full effect be given to the opportunities for interrogation now afforded.

10. Will you please show this letter to your District Magistrate.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

To

All Supdts. of Police,
United Provinces.

———— ·X· ————

153

Nehru Against the Quit India Movement

F.24/Cong/42-VIII December 9, 1942

The daily gazette dated 9-12-42 carries a statement by Dr. Ashraf, well-known U.P. politician, in which he said that Pandit Nehru a week before the Bombay AICC had addressed the U.P. Congress Committee on August 1 where he exhorted his fellowers to realise that direct action was not desirable in a state of war and that it was not feasible. He reiterated his faith in an anxiety for the victory of the Chinese

and the Russians and undying hatred of the Japanese and the Axis powers. Dr. Ashraf was of the view that Pandit Nehru neither visualised the movement nor approved of it. Mrs. Huthee Singh, sister of Nehru, characterised Ashraf's remarks as wholly incorrect. Her brother was "in complete agreement with Gandhiji regarding the starting of the campaign".

———— ·X· ————

154

Arrest of Jogindra Sukul in Bihar

F.28/Cong/42-B.II December 10, 1942

An extract from a Bihar report dated 10.12.42 refers to the arrest of Jogindra Sukul which is said to be a heavy blow to the hopes of the youthful Congress rebels "what can Jai Parkash Babu do alone without his dare-devil executive". Particularly among students he is an almost legendry repetition without which the familiarity of all other absconders pales into insignificance. There was a general pessimism and depression due to Sukul's arrest. As one observer quoted, the Rs.5,000 reward is a good bargain for the Bihar government; this capture is worth lakhs of rupees. As for the hero himself - Jogindra Sukul had little to say beyond abusing the police officer who arrested him as a traitor to his country.

———— ·X· ————

155

Planning and Organisation of the Movement

F.24/Cong./24-VII December 11, 1942

A bulletin is said to have been issued by the All India Congress Committee group giving fresh directions for the intensification of the present movement. The letter enclosing the bulletin is dated December 11, 1942.

The bulletin reads "Freedom Struggle Front", the struggle of revolt.

India is stirring as she has never stirred before. Robbed of organisation and leadership, devoid of guidance and planning, the people of our country have started their revolutionary march to freedom. There is a tenseness in the air - every section, every man and woman is deeply moved and feels impelled to action. Established authority is reeling under its impact and is striving to beat down the upheaval with desparate repression. There are vast plans which are appalled, muddled heads that screech their condemnation, survile poets that pent to crush this upsurge of spirit but the effect of this outburst is here; it is the pronounced effect of recent history.

The nature of the upheaval

Undirected, uncontrolled and leaderless, the masses are surging, heaving, swaying in their struggle for release. Every individual, every group is going on its own, impelled by diverse motives, diverse ideals. In this lies at once the strength of weakness of the movement. The strength Gandhi invoked when he called out to each Indian to feel free, that feeling stirring in his breast makes him rise. The appeal is to the individual direct: the response is of individual direct. The memo of a party or organisational machine becomes redundant. The active units in this battle are individuals, and mass formation depending for every meeting on extraneous end. This feature invests the movement with a spontaneity, flexibility on the deathlessness, elemental and of impressing quality which is controlling the unique India's national and international possibilities. Gandhiji has given us a new technique in resolution. It is ethically superior to all other methods in that it eschews collective massacre and entails the minimum of blood-shed. It is a weapon of self-defence, self-expression and liberation of a complete not of territorial aggression so exploitive of nature. It is economically in resources that the name is thought, not with a colossal array of casual armour but by paralysis of its organisation by individual resistance. It is a process of mass education on the mass extensive scale offering an inherent guarantee of the prominence of its achievement, in that it strengthens each individual participant by bringing to him the consciousness of his latent power and a realisation of a unity of interests that is follow advice. Unit is not to be looked for in a statistic

formula of percentage but is realisable only through this dynamic struggle while pursuing an obvious political objective; it simultaneously solves the problems of fear, ignorance and disunity. In laying stress on the common man and awakening him to power it makes sure that he will be centre round which the structure of the new state will be raised.

The need for plan

There can be no doubt about essential saneness of this technique whatever the opinion about its universal applicability for all militant action, there can be no gainsaying that it is the only feasible move in the present circumstances of the country. But the stress it lays on the individual which is the secret of its unique efficacy is also the source of weakness one must most carefully guard. The individual is thrown on his own resources of thought. Again how small these resources are in a suppressed people we know. There are some who would eternally postpone the struggle on that account, forgetting that it is only through that they may enlarge their resources. To these limiting factors dictates the form which the struggle must take. The objective must be immediately appealing to the common man because immediately satisfying the vital lack (sic) clearly defined so as to be easily grasped by the commonest intelligence. The ultimate issue, the final goal is perceived and maintained aloft only by a sustained process of reasoning and must be allowed to emerge before the fighting ranks only in careful stages through a progressive series and secondary and immediate aims. The final goal of the struggle must be kept steadily in view by some: the stages to its attainment must be carefully set by some. This is the task of planning. The scope of planning. This movement is decentralised, individualistic, anarchically achieved because it is a movement and not an involuntary exploration of pent up energy its attraction and its anarchy is deliberate and purposeful. The object of planning is to set the direction in form and animate the participants with the parties but the scope of central direction and control in movement of this atomistic character is directly limited. The function of planning in this movement is three-fold: it must furnish the ideological prespective at each stage; it must engage the broad principles which will guide action; it must provide a general co-ordination

of groups and individuals, by arranging contacts, dissemination of intelligence, staging avoidance and cancelling connections. Central direction cannot attempt much more without destroying the elucidity and decentralised initiative which constituted the essential quality of this movement. The detailed application of the general principle in concrete acts and manoeuvres must be left to the primary fighting units. The movement will not conform to a uniform pattern in all areas for this reason. This outward manifestation will exhibit as great authority as great variety as local problems and circumstances will vary. This unfounded diversity of expressions should be welcome. It is bewildering to the enemy and should be encouraged by working up and bringing to a head the particular local grievance which is most acute in any year - it may be shortage of foodgrains in one place, the exaction of Rent Collector in another, the refusal of permission to irrigate the fields in some other, the realisation of collective fine is still another. Each such problem is the focal point for the initiation of the movement in the area. The general plan will attract the search for such force; points out that our festering economic source will be the most suitable starting point for local agitation being the most deeply felt, and the quickest most naturally, and the most unifying inciting agents for the local people; how these areas can never be slaved within the framework of the existing system; and as this understanding spreads and the agitation has reached a sufficient pitch, suggest the precipitation of the next wider areas, taking the people forward to the next higher phase of struggle.

<u>The machinery for planning</u>

The machinery set up to undertake this planning must be suited to its special limited purpose. That purpose is, as indicated already to outline the general policy and direction and to provide a loose and flexible co-ordination of the work of the party especially parties, groups and individuals to whom the slightest discretion is to be left in carrying out the day to day programme of the struggle. These are old organisations claiming the membership of disciplined bodies of men and women who have been already working for subversion and the present orders of things for a long time. They may have varying methods and varying creeds, but as long

as they do not plan counter to the general direction of this movement, they will be welcomed and will find a place. The invitation must be open even to individuals in their own right as children of this country. This struggle is a total struggle in its present phase, the upsurge of a whole people - it is not sectional, partisan, exclusive, but total and inconclusive at this stage. The class war may have to come, but that is not yet, not till after the riddance of foreign exploitation. It is arguable that in the course of the struggle the shift of force will come before the proletariat even in the process of overthrowing the foreign hold. The two vital phases being simultaneous not successive. Be that as it may, this must be clear now that the organisation requires that central guidance of the movement in its present stage is not the rigid organisation of an exclusive party, professing a dogmatic creed and enforcing an iron discipline. We do not want to set up a new party which must immediately come into conflict with existing parties and can only prevail by fighting and destroying them. What we need to set up is a meeting place for parties and groups, a forum for discussion, a clearing house of ideas where the greatest common measure of agreement on policy can be worked out. What we need is a coming together of parties not their suppression by a new body. What we need is a confederation, a joint enterprise, a common stand; what we need is the freedom struggle front where every group, every party, every class and section and every individual can find a place to fill without (? losing) their separate identities. There are many revolutionary parties in the field. They differ in their methods, their traditions, their special experience of particular lines of work but there is little difference in the ultimate goal of their endeavours. Their organisation, discipline, resources, special talents and aptitude for special tasks must all be utilised. They can be all roped in on the common platform of freedom struggle front and this can be done in the present phase of the struggle without calling upon them to renounce their immediate loyalties. To a much more limited extent yet for some measure the same is true of social group also. There is no class or section which is not against the present state. Let that discontent and frustration in each layer of society be exploited and calls into disruptive force if the rich mill-owner or banker is

welcome to finance the revolution - let his help be eagerly seized. He may be acting from calculated self-interest, desiring an easier return for his capital invested; he may be moved in respect of himself by the abstract change in the era. In any case the course of the development of the struggle which can only succeed through the people awakening to power, he must either identify his interest with that of the masses or be submerged in the rising tide of their power. Let not a virginly horror outrage the class issues stand in the way of seeking and taking his help; let him be roped in too.

The programme of action

There are so many vital fronts and in this war as there are classes and sections and individuals waging it, and action on all fronts is simultaneous, but the most extensive and significant field of work lies in the country-side, where our peasantry offers the biggest reserve of man power and where village economy is threatened with imminent breakdown. Let peasant representative in the villages be approached by our central agents. The agents themselves be selected from tried workers of existing organisations and parties. Some now disbanded by law such as the Spinners Association, some just countenanced openly such as the Krishak-Projas who have already established connections in the interior. Let them select the initial targets for assault in each village or group of villages; let the rising and simmering discontent against these immediate grievances be churned up into an angry ferment; first through informal discussions then through open meetings, while attempting to relate the immediate problems to wider and bigger issues in simple understandable terms. Open conflict with authority should be avoided at this stage by representing the agitation as a lawful demand for economic concessions. As soon as the discontent is crystallised to some extent, orderly but confident processions should be organised, for its collective representation before the local authorities. On their failure to redress, which is inevitable, the more extreme and militant specimen of the peasants should be helped to take the lead and prepare the man for direct action: by organised and orderly seizure of stocks of essential goods; by refraining by means of rents and debts; by refusing to part with crops, by ignoring court processes for

distraint and refusing to attend or bid at sales; by taking possession of the machinery of local administration, such as union boards, chowkis, thanas and running it themselves; by setting up new machinery where necessary. If the developments can be firmly sychronised in a number of years from the centre - and to a great extent this will be helped by the natural infectuousness of the process - the forces of the state will be helpless to check those processes, the disturbances will be too widespread and scattered. The police and the military may advance on one village and raid it to arrest but the rare and the front will be constantly harassed; their communications will be constantly cut off, their feeding supplies will be precarious. The tactical plan of defence in the villages will be very ideal to organise scouts to give warning of the enemies approach, retire and disperse before its advance and return like the tide when the enemy most presently withdrew having nothing to do and little too explicit. The sufferance of the villagers will be great but the stakes are also high. If they have been made to realise these at the outset, if they know that the government is in action and suffering no less, they have trained mind to expect and do, then this suffering will not break them - then each time they will return to their razed villages with a grimmer determination of spirit and increased bitterness of heart; and the news of happenings in every village, every district must filter through to fortify their resolve.

Other friends

We have a better organisation and a greater organisation of work among the industrial labour. Here also unrest must be brought to a head on immediate economic issues. The situation will be directly helped by the commotion in the villages. It will dry up the source of full supply and raw materials to the urban and industrial areas. Dearness Allowance can never keep pace with price which will sore higher and higher with a progressive inflation of the currency. Price control will shoot up as the senseless dissipation does. Strike should be easy to organise in this context. Propaganda should be meanwhile pressed home on the capitalist front, appealing to this class on emotional patriotic grounds to view the strike programme with favour. The bourgeoisie must be exhorted

to keep up political discontent at high pressure, 'declasse' price of the petit Bourgeois sections must be recruited to lead militant demonstrations of students and labourers. The Indian officialdom should be approached for secret directions in money and information and sabotage of vital processes of the administration. The precise points and methods of that must be left to their own decision. In this as in other cases, but countless illustrations can be cited and innumerable members discovered once the general lines of our movement are clearly grasped. General analysis of the struggle must be made known in every suitable case.

Administrative task

The training of workers; the issue of leaflets, newssheets, slogans; the organisation of contacts, the raising of funds, frequent reviews of progress; issue of directions to the fighting line - these are the urgent administrative problems of the freedom struggle front. Help is pouring in from all States, the tasks will be done. But when the administration has any programme greatest decentralisation should be provided for. In that, rather than in secrecy for which the scope is directly limited in a movement of this character, lies the biggest safeguard against its suppression.

———— ·X· ————

156

Congress Funds in the Name of Devdas Gandhi

F.28/Cong/42-B.II December 16, 1942

According to C.I.D. Lahore report dated 16.12.42 Congress has been able to collect money for political purposes. It shows 12,000 - 2,500 - 10,000 - 20,000 against the names of Devdas Gandhi, Premjas Rai, Ram Lal Verma, a motor part dealer; and Jugal Kishore Khanna. This is in addition to what Mrs. Asaf Ali and Har Sarup of Forward Block collected.

———— ·X· ————

157

Student Agitation in Banaras led by Gairala and Govind Malaviya

F.28/Cong/42-C December 21, 1942

UP.S.B.'S note on subversive activity for the fortnight ending 21.12.42

.....

There is irrefutable evidence that fresh plans have been drawn up for the division of the province into three portions for the purposes of the rebel organisation, that training centres for sabotage and terrorism are to be set up, that the main plan is to organise concerted action when Japan attacks India, and that an effective central directorate, situated in Bombay and well supplied with funds and capable personnel, is functioning strongly through couriters and post boxes and is in contact with every part of the country. A recent series of elaborate instructions issued from Bombay indicates that real existing grievances are to be exploited to the full, Congress agency being concealed in the early stages. Communist tactics are being largely imitated. The need for intelligent and efficient censorship by the Police in all districts, particularly of correspondence from the direction of Bombay is therefore self-evident, as is also the need to probe any manifestations of discontent arising out of strained economic conditions or the shortage of small coins etc. in order to detect any rebel agency at work.

STUDENT HEROES OF BENARES

In almost every part of the country the students have played a leading part in the National Movement. They have faced lathi charges and firings and have suffered long terms of imprisonment and solitary confinements. And among all the students, those of the Benares University stand in the forefront for their splendid organisation and admirable activities. Long before the movement started, their organisation was growing simultaneously with the demand and determination of the Indian National Congress. To strengthen it still more, they had established their own Congress Committee inside the University compound.

On August 10, Vice-Chancellor, Sir Radhakrishnan was taking his class; during his lecture, he informed the students of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Working Committee. Students were immensely enraged and the University closed down immediately. They assembled in front of the University Congress Committee Office, and under the leadership of their professor Dr. Gairola five thousands of them marched in a procession towards the city. There all the shops were closed, every business was at a standstill and a sensation prevailed in every corner of the inhabited localities. The public joined the students in the way, and there were some twenty to twenty-five thousand persons in the procession, by the time it reached Dasa Sumer. In torrential rains they proceeded towards the Town hall. The police was stationed there as on many other places in the way. Several lorry loads of British Tommies also passed by the procession. But it was all a dumb show. They did not challenge the processionists, who held their meeting in the town hall and dispersed thereafter. The same night two University teachers - Prof. Asrani and Prof. Govind Malaviya were arrested.

Next day some students went to capture the Court but the police dispersed them with a lathi charge. The day after fifty of them were again sent to the Court, where some fifty thousand citizens were waiting for them. Courts had already closed down and the public hoisted the tricolour flag over the two buildings of the Court. There was also a talk of capturing the post office, police station, Tehsil and the Railway station on that very day; but the student leader objected to it as he had no such orders from his dictator in the University. However on their way home, the processionists cut off the telephone and electric wires and brought down the wires posts. The same day some University girls broke open the police seal at the University Congress Office and reoccupied the premises.

Having got the news that the government were contemplating to take over the equipment of the University Engineering College, the students decided to put the road leading to the college out of order, but on the Vice-Chancellor's advice they left the road in tact and posed their comrades on guard at the College and University gates. Nobody was allowed to come in or

go out without a pass. Some five or six police informers however managed to creep in, but they were spotted out and locked up for several hours. Later they were let off but their cycles were taken over by the students. Be it mentioned here that members of the U.T.C. and even those students of the engineering college who were getting government scholarships, were whole-heartedly co-operating and never did they lag behind.

Once the students were going about in the city in a procession cutting off the wire and digging out the lamp posts. At Sunarpura the police fired at the procession injuring three or four students and killing two citizens. The processionists were far more numerous than the police and if they wanted, they could easily lynch the police men, but they were so strictly non-violent that although their comrades fell down by the police bullets before their very eyes, yet they did not even think of avenging over the policemen.

Almost every day, after the University had closed down, the students went in small batches to the city where they used to cut down the remaining wires, dig out the remaining wire-posts and make fiery speeches in the citizens' meetings. These short excursions created such a tempo in the city that the Govt. officials got nervous and on August 10, Collector Finley came to the University with a posse of soldiers. The students standing on guard did not allow them to go in but sent words to the Vice-Chancellor who came to see the Collector. Finley gave a threat to have the University occupied by the troops in case the students continued to go about and work in the city.

Thereupon the Vice-Chancellor and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya advised the students to go home and the Collector arranged for special trains to take them home. But once they had boarded the train, they were subjected to all kinds of hardships - even worse than those experienced by the Burma refugees. Male and female students were herded together in the same compartments and lights were put off. There was nothing definite about the stoppages. Almost every stoppage was on some quite insignificant station, so much so that the students did not get any food worth the name for two or three days continuously.

The students that had stayed on, now started going in the nearby villages. There they enlightened the villagers on the national programme, and by practical demonstrations risking their lives, they gave the villagers of the district a very good lead. In addition to their own district, they also served as a vanguard in the surrounding districts of Ghazipur and Ballia.

On August 19, at about 3 a.m. when the teachers and the students were still in bed, troops came and surrounded the University buildings and quite a large number of them equipped with machine guns and teargas rifles entered the University. They ruthlessly ejected all the students - male as well as female - from the hostels, threw out their luggage and occupied the whole building.

Even after they had been thus treacherously ejected from their central meeting place, the activities of Benares students continued unabated. Their batches are still working in the districts of Benares, Ballia and Ghazipur. Those that have been arrested have generally been sentenced to seven years' R.I. and ten stripes each. The University has reopened but all that they have done, it can safely be predicted that the student heroes of Benares are not going to rest until they have gained their final objective - Purna Swaraj.

—— ·X· ——

158

Declaration of People's Raj in Ghazipur

F.28/Cong/42-C

December 21,1942

Leaving the District Headquarters, the whole district of Ghazipur remained under the people's raj for full ten days. Police stations, courts, and every other department of the government passed from hands of the government officials into those of the people's representatives. Baldeo Pandey, a teacher in a local school, was their leader. He was just an ordinary teacher, teaching Sanskrit at a small salary of fifteen rupees and was also cultivating a small area of 2 or 3 bighas. In the last individual civil-disobedience movement he did not court imprisonment and

held no responsible office in the present Congress Committee of the district. On August 10, came the news of the leaders' arrests. The spirit and enthusiasm of the people were set ablaze and the insignificant teacher was transformed into people's practical leader. He went to Benares to enquire about the Congress programme and as a proof of his word he carried with him some wire cut by the students and the public in Benares. The next day he set on to work, hoisted the tricolour flag over the police station, set fire to a part of the Orihar Railway Station and brought the trains under people's control. In one of these trains he went to Rajwari with some of his followers. There the aerodrome workers joined their rank and together they destroyed the partly built building and other equipment. Coming back from Rajwari Baldeo sent news of the Congress movement having been launched to the interior of the district. Early next morning people began to assemble in front of the Orihar Railway Station until their number reached to something between four to five thousand. Then they set fire to what was left of the Railway Station, wrecked two railway engines and looted a train load of cloth. The railway parcel office was also raided but all the things were returned back as soon as people came to know that these did not belong to the government. From here they proceeded towards Saeedpur police station. Naturally the police were there to protect the station but the large number of the people and the news of the Hindustani Raj pacified them. They surrendered their arms. Volunteers took charge of their guns and Baldeo took up the Station Officer's revolver and the sling holding bullets. Now they went to capture the Tehsil and the Government treasury. Tehsil officials with some police and a few zamindars were standing there with loaded guns, but as had already happened at the police station, the huge and undaunted mass persuaded them to surrender without a single shot being fired from either side. After they had surrendered, the Tehsil officials were asked to burn the records and hoist the National Flag over the Tehsil building. The processionists were contemplating to loot the treasury as well, but an S.D.O. advised Baldeo to keep it in tact as it would be needed even in the new administration, and Baldeo told his companions that the Congress had only asked the people to capture the Government machinery and unless they get any fresh instruction it would be

inadvisable to destroy the treasury. Thus the treasury was spared, Tricolour flag was hoisted over the Tehsil building and the Tehsil officials joined the procession shouting patriotic slogans.

Government officials at most of the police stations and Tehsils surrendered their departments to the public merely on sight of that huge and fearless mass advancing towards them. The message of the Congress also appealed to their hearts, and these were the two reasons why they could not make up their minds to commit any violence. Still on one or two occasions they had recourse to firing. At Tehsil Yusuf Pur Mohammadabad, for example, the police challenged the mob, and when their challenge went unheeded they started firing. The mob stood firm and the police went on firing vollies after vollies. A student of Benares University came forward, tore off his shirt, and laid his chest bare for the police to shoot at. The first shot struck his thigh, the second one into his belly and the third pierced his chest. He stood shouting patriotic slogans, until the third shot when he fell dead on the ground. Many others were killed but ultimately the Tehsil was captured. Its officers were now all at the mercy of the public, but none of them suffered any vengeance at their hands.

For full four days two trains were completely under the control of the public and before they removed the railway line, they sent all the railway servants with their families and their luggage on a special train to Benares, and to ensure their safety in the way Baldeo Pandey gave them a permit slip.

The established government remained non-existent for complete ten days. Still throughout this period there did not occur a single burglary or theft. Only in a village Bhaivan Pur some persons looted a Bania and the village Zamindar, but Baldeoji came to know of their plans before they could mature, and reaching there in time, he dispersed them, posted volunteers to guard the Zemindar's place. Some enthusiasts were determined to loot a market and their leader's appeal had no effect upon them. Baldeo then changed his attitude and told them that a change in the administration did not mean the end of all law and order, and unless they behaved themselves, he would ask the police to show them the correct way. Of course this threat was enough for them.

After this display of non-violence for ten days the government started its show of violence and the first victims of this violence were its own supporters. Commissioner Nethersole and Civil Guard Commander Marsh Smith entered the district with British and Indian troops. The first place they visited was Rampur - a village near the Railway Station Orihar. There they got hold of Thakur Sheo Shanker Singh ex-chairman of the District Board, a staunch supporter of the government and the worst enemy of the Congress. He and his brother's son-in-law were publicly whipped. Similar treatment was meted out to many others. Even the elders of the village were not spared. Seeing Baldeo advancing towards them with a mob, they flew away to Irihar where they indiscriminately beat members of the public. Post Master Ram Rakha Pathak was also beaten. In Saeedpur, Commissioner Nethersole greeted the Tehsildar with a couple of kicks. He also laid waste the market and had several persons whipped publicly. A patriot was stripped naked and tied to a tree and they started beating him with thorny bamboo sticks. He was asked to repent for being a Congressman and to promise that he would never put on khadi again. The whole of his body was terribly bleeding but he went on shouting patriotic slogans till he was unconscious. The president of a Congress Committee Sjt. Har Prasad Singh was similarly tied to a tree and beaten with thorny sticks until his body was all wounds and pieces of flesh were flying on each stripe. When he fell unconscious they applied salt over his wounds and sent him to prison. Sjt. Vikrama Dutt Singh, the correspondent of the Benares Daily 'Aj' was also similarly beaten and is now lying in the Ghazipur jail. Similar treatment was meted out to several persons in the village Rampur Manjha near Taraon Station. Almost all the houses in the village were burnt to ashes. In the village Ghamar Sherpur and its surrounding habitations people were brutely beaten and publicly whipped. Their houses with all the luggage and the grain were burnt down, and one was even blown up by dynamite.

With the reoccupation of the district by the military, the police again turned hostile but nobody could lay hand on Baldeo Pandey. He was going about from place to place until one day, a military picket arrested him for putting on khadi, but somehow he played a trick upon them and was once more free. He gathered together

some outsider workers and again set to work. He has not been arrested as yet.

———— ·X· ————

159

Increase in Tempo of Underground Activities

F.28/Cong/42-B.II December 21, 1942

In Delhi there were reported some increase in the tempo of the Congress underground activity. A formidable branch of the AICC Bombay is functioning in Delhi with influence of U.P. Delhi and south eastern districts of Punjab. U.P. Directorate is composed of Dr. Gairola, Prof. Radhe Shyam, Dr. Keskar, Acharya Jugal Kishore, Gopi Nath Singh of Kanpur, Joshi of Banares and some others. Delhi has been under the charge of Mrs. Asaf Ali, Devdas , Gandhi, Narayanan, Jugal Kishore Khanna, Basrukar etc. while the south eastern Punjab districts have been inspired by Krishna Nayar whose sabotage gangs were a menace to railway security. Latest reports about Meerut and Gwalior becoming the centre of A.I.C.C. activity in preference to Delhi. Gwalior is also eminent as the headquarters of the C.S.P.

———— ·X· ————

160

Prof. Kailash Prakash's Activities in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B.II December 22, 1942

From a statement of Sundar Lal Chamar of Dehra Dun dated 22.12.42, it is known that Prof. Kailash Prakash of Meerut was in-charge of the Congress movement in that area and that Jai Shankar was the pass word. Prof. Kailash used to meet the couriers, the district organisers and give them instructions. Prof. Madan was the main contact in Meerut and he used to send them to Prof. Kailash. Prof. Ram Saran of Moradabad was an active worker in Moradabad. Prof. Kailash used to live in half the bungalow - the other half

being kept by a Dy. Collector who was often visited by the Dy. Supdt. Police and Prof. used to get all information from this source.

———— ·X· ————

161

Underground Activities in Bihar

F.28/Cong/42-C December 28, 1942

Extract from a secret report dated 28.12.1942, received from the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. Bihar, Patna.

An experienced observer who has recently toured in north Bihar confirms reports from other sources of the development of an underground Congress organization. The Chief organisers are Congress absconders, who are in touch with school teachers and lawyers and are engaged in various forms of propaganda, including the issue and distribution of leaflets. Anti-British feeling is more marked than ever, in spite of the general feeling of demoralization which has succeeded the rebellion, not only because of alleged excesses by troops and police, but owing to propaganda by the trading class, who throw the blame for economic conditions which have been rendered more acute by their own hoarding propensities, on Government purchases for military purposes. According to this source, anti-British feeling is by no means confined to non-official elements but is particularly noticeable among Indian Officials. It is generally expected that Congress rebels still at large will take advantage of the feeling of insecurity caused by Japanese air-raids on Calcutta to renew sabotage and other forms of open activity.

———— ·X· ————

162

Searches and Arrests in Delhi

F.28/Cong/42-B.III January 15, 1943

According to a police report a number of searches made at Delhi led to the arrest of a number of promi-

nent absconders including Ravinder Nath, B.P. Sinha of Patna and the capture of a large number of material ammunitions as for example 186 sticks of Gelignite, 183 Detonators, 1200 feet of safety fuse and a large quantity of chemicals used in the preparation of explosives, 30 pounds of gun power, a large number of empty bomb shells etc. With one of the stores of explosives; an exercise book was also recovered which contained the names given to mixtures as Subhash blasting Joly, Jawahar Grenade, Gandhi blasting sticks.

———— ⁘ ————

163

Political Situation in Bengal

F.28/Cong/42-A-III

January 16, 1943

(Extract from the Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal for the first half of January, 1943.)

A report on the progress of the rebellion in Bengal for the months of August and September, issued by the Council of Action of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee contains what purports to be detailed account of the achievements of the movement and Government's so-called repressive action. Two reasons are given for the failure of Bengal to make what is described as "a good start", namely, the fact that no programme had been received from the All-India Congress Committee and its receipt was prevented or delayed by the arrest of members returning from the meeting in the early part of August, and secondly that members of subversive organisations, including the Forward Blok (the only one named) had succumbed to the "octopus clutches of the Defence of India Rules". The report makes it clear that the disturbance occurring in other parts of India were taken to be in fulfilment of the Congress programme and were emulated in that belief. Credit is claimed not only for the issue of printed or cyclostyled bulletins, to which reference has been made in these reports, and for acts of arson and sabotage but also for the suspension of publication by newspapers. The document constitutes in itself powerful evidence against any profession that the acts of lawlessness and sabotage

which have occurred are anything but the working out of a plan, deliberately framed by elements of the Congress Command, who must be taken to have acquiesced in, if not definitely intended, the brutalities which have in come cases accompained them. It also serves to establish that the measures of Government to deal with the rebellion were necessary and were not unduly severe. Other assessments of progress in one case claim success in "uprooting the British administration from many places"; in another, however, "the lack of zeal in Calcutta" is deplored and comment is regretfully made that "standing in the city, it is difficult to imagine that India had actually declared war against the English".

———— ·X· ————

164

No-Tax Campaign and Strikes in M.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B.III January 18, 1943

A report dated 18.1.43 refers to an incident when an attack was made by a gang of 100 persons on railway station in the Muradabad Distt. on the night of January 1, 1943, probably the work of Badan Singh, a notorious ex-M.L.A. The Congress activities have been greatly shaken after the arrest of a number of leaders and no concerted action is likely in the near future. From a report from Radhika Narain, Group Inspector of Lahore dated 11.1.1943, it appears that the independence day programme which falls on the 26th January will be celebrated according to the instructions of the Congress High Command Directorate Delhi by collecting funds for Swaraj Qarza, circulating independence day pledges, propagating among kisans, no-rent, no-tax campaigns, organising strike in factories, schools and colleges, to commit acts of sabotage, to ask the military personnel to abstain from shooting etc.

———— ·X· ————

165

Instructions to Revolutionaries': Revelations from Annaji Balkrishna Barve

F.28/Cong/42-B/III February 8, 1943

(Extract from the Weekly letter No.5 received with Bombay S.B. II, No.371/RF/ADM-112, dated the 8th February, 1943.)

INSTRUCTIONS TO SABOTEURS

A typed communication, the contents of which are reproduced below, was found in the room of Annaji Balkrishna Barve, arrested in connection with the recent bomb outrages in Bombay:

"Water filtering into barges loaded with grain will make the cargo swell to three times its normal size and burst the ship's seams. Water mixed with gasoline ruins it as fuel for planes, trucks and tanks. Water mixed with potassium produces highly inflammable hydrogen plus the heat required to touch it off alongside a nazi held factory.

A handful of ground glass or emery dust thrown into lubricating oil disables a wire hoist of a locomotive. Five pounds of sand sprinkled in a battleship's beaming puts her out of commission, grit planted in water valves causes tanks to hog down and bombers to make force landing. Forget the oil in your machines and let them break down, shut off the valves in oil pipe lines while the pumps are working and the lines will burst.

A 10" stick of dynamite connected to a detonator and a two minute fuses can tear a truck asunder or blast a railway line. The sticks will wreck one end of a strong bridge. Polish workers, in Nazi munitions factories put sand into bombs instead of TNT. Each foilder in the Skoda Works added sulphur to molten steel so that guns become useless after a few shots.

Nazi used little steel wedges to derail passing locomotives, small enough to be hidden under a man's coat. Those wedges were most effective in railroad sabotage than clumsy barricades or even bombs. They are now being used in Europe.

These wholesale distribution would soon result in a

serious barrage. They must be taught to single out strategic spots. Destroying signal lights and tele-graph wires between railway stations often causes greater delay than blasting tracks at a single point. The Gestapo may shoot hostages and deport people living near the scene of sabotage only as long as it has not become the mass movement. Wholesale arrests in key industries would mean total stoppage. It is power-less to deal with such mass sabotage as general slow down in industry, petty waster of materials reducing crops to the needs of consumption, strewing glass along highways used by German motorized columns under-ground writes must be centrally led and their striking power co-ordinated.

———— ·X· ————

166

Difference of Ideology Amongst Congress Workers

F.28/Cong/42-B.III February 17, 1943

From a source dated 17.2.43 we learn that the Congress workers in U.P. were sharply divided as to whether or not violent sabotages really formed part of Congress programme. As a result of the publication of Gandhi's letters to the Viceroy, nearly all released Congress workers now seem to be convinced that the resumption of sabotage should not form part of their future programme. Even those inside the jails were said to be now against this sabotage programme, but the students and the younger elements are still in favour of launch-ing a sabotage movement and are holding study circles even in the Banares Jail. The chief organisers are Raj Narayan Singh, Purshotam Das, Ram Naresh Singh. The report also quotes a private meeting of the Congress workers held in the house of Dr. Miss Thangauma where were present S.K. Basu, ex-dictator, Sardar Singh, Durga Dass, Bhattacharji, Srinivas and Burman a resident of Bihar. All of them felt that the sabotage movement is futile. They were in favour of non-violent activities.

———— ·X· ————

167

Govt. Concern about Poor DISTRIBUTION of "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances"

F.24/Cong/42-VIII-A February 19, 1943

A telegram from Governor-General to Secretary of State dated February,19,1943, after quoting the preface to the pamphlet entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances,1943-44" suggests that the copies of the pamphlet be reprinted in Britain and distributed as widely as possible in Britain and Washington and even Chung King. The last para of the telegram reads: "We are also arranging to have it to be out unofficially here at once that pamphlet has been under preparation for some time and is expected to be released on 22nd. This is to avoid or reduce possible criticism on ground that it had been timed to coincide with Gandhi's serious condition."

The C.I.D. characterised the editorial of the Statesman as ungenerous. Pamphlet stated that "in terms of current political happenings this material has almost dropped into the category of history and we can discern no good reason for its not having been produced weeks ago in response to the sustained public demand". About the pamphlet it adds "this contains a quantity of increasing material which despite phrasing often uncongenially laborious or smug, provides in our opinion ample justification for the authorities administrative policy during the last six months." It also criticises as the moment chosen for its publication seemed singularly infelicitious.

The Home Department approached the various provincial governments to give the pamphlet as wide a publicity as possible and it should be sold at as.4 per copy. Ultimately the price was fixed at as.2. Translation of this pamphlet was also done in Urdu and Hindi and each copy was sold for annas 2. Ultimately the price was fixed at anna 1. A circular memorandum dated April 10, 1943 from the Intelligence Bureau makes an interesting revelation "complaints are being received from several quarters that copies of the Government publication entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances 1942-43" are unobtainable in public bookstalls, although we are informed that in actual fact very

large number of copies have been ordered by booksellers and should be available for purchase everywhere. The possibility has been suggested that the pamphlet is being bought by the Congress agency either to be used as a paper, or possibly to prevent or reduce its circulation among members of the public. We shall be glad if unobtrusive enquiries are made to ascertain what classes of people are buying the pamphlet whether for instance large number of copies have been ordered by a single individual and, if so, who? And also whether the pamphlet is in fact prominently displayed for sale or is being kept in the background deliberately.

In response to the circular, however, most of the provincial governments informed the Centre that it was the Manager of Publications, Delhi, who was not promptly filling orders which had been sent in for copies of the publication. Copies seemed to have been sold out in all the provinces quite rapidly. Calcutta Intelligence Office reported that "amongst the persons noticed buying the book there seems to be a high proportion of lawyers and the usual intellectual class and some copies have also been sold to army men. Only in one instance large number of copies were asked for by one individual. The list of 36 booksellers is attached which sold out 18, 182 copies of the publication. It includes Taraporewala & Sons, Bombay, Messrs. S. Krishnaswamy & Co., Teppakulam, Trichnopoly, Kitabistan, Allahabad, Ramakrishna, Minerva, Lahore, Standard Book Stall, Karachi, Jain Book Dept., Connaught Place, New Delhi, Bhavnani & Sons, New Delhi, etc. besides the Wheelers.

In Lahore the book seems to have been purchased by Press Representatives, students of national colleges out of curiosity and by nationalists to find out how far the Government is justified in levelling charges against the Congress. It is asserted that the Government has failed in its endeavour.

The C.I.O., Karachi, in its letter dated May 11, 1943 said "It is true that almost all the booksellers in the town are under Hindu management and that these people may have true Congress sympathies but I do not consider this as necessarily indicating a determined Congress attempt to black out the Government pamphlet in Karachi". The letter also informs the Delhi Office that this pamphlet "does not seem to have been bought in any

quantity by the Americans". Madras C.I.O. reported that the bulk of the purchasers here are Congress sympathisers impelled to buy out of curiosity. Secret inquiries were made regarding a person,Ram Parkash Katial of Lyallpur who has ordered for hundred copies. It was found that his father is a labourer and his only brother a packer in the head post office. Neither Ram Parkash nor any other member of his family had come to adverse notice in Lyallpur. He only being an agent of the Wheelers had ordered for these copies for sale.

———— ·X· ————

168

Sabotage Activities in Bihar

F.28/Cong/42-B.III February 22, 1943

A report from Bihar dated February 22, 1943 stated that in the Patna Division the Municipal Office at Bhabua in Shahabad was set on fire on February 22. In Bahawalpur division there has been continuous lawlessness, 4 attacks being made on houses of rural police in different villages, chowkidars were way-laid and their uniforms seized. They are said to be so demoralised at these constant attacks that they are contemplating resignation in a body. A school was burnt down, an assessor panch was looted. On February 12, a band of about 300 armed rebels went to Sultanganj where they forced bullock-cart travellers to return home and threatened to loot them if they accepted currency notes or agreed to sell grains. In Bhipur (near Bhagalpur) Congress volunteers seized the crutches of a school master; in Santal Parganas the dacoity cases are on the increase. Dharbhanga Raj Kacheri, Dr. Suranjaya was attacked by a mob of 500. A police party which had gone to deal with a gang of 200 dacoits near Dunka on February 17 met with volleys of arrows and opened fire killing several dacoits, two guns were lost by the police. A number of telephone and telegraph wires were cut in Chota Nagpur. A number of cases of sabotage on E.I.R. were reported.

———— ·X· ————

169

S. Gadre's Conviction Set Aside

F.24/Cong/42-VIII February 22, 1943

There is a newspaper report passed on to the C.I.D. The news appeared in the daily "Karachi Daily" dated 22-2-43. It published the judgement passed by one Mr. J.R. Mudholkar, Sessions Judge of Wardha setting aside the conviction and sentence passed on S. Gadre by the lower court. The charge against Gadre was that in furtherance of the present movement he asked a village Mukkadam to resign his office and the lower court sentanced him to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment. Delivering the judgement, the Judge said "I do not think that it can be assumed that the disturbances which have taken place recently in this District are part of the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Congress. I have not come across any resolution of the Congress authorising the launching of any Civil Disobedience Movement. It has not been proved that any secret instructions have been issued by the Congress to the people to launch such a movement. Simply because some persons who are also members of the Congress have taken part in the recent disturbances, it would be reasonable to presume that there is a Civil Disobedience Movement and that it has been launched by the Congress."

———— ⁂ ————

170

Gandhi's Death would Repeat 1857 according to Abdual Qayyum

F.24/Cong/42-VIII February 25, 1943

A report from J.P. Martin, Central Intelligence Officer, Lahore dated February 25, 1943 reads:-

During the course of conversation in Delhi, Abdul Qayyum Khan, M.L.A., expressed the view that Gandhi's death would bring liberty nearer than his release. He also said that it was very difficult to maintain that the Congress could accept no responsibility for the present disturbances. The Congress had definitely conceived the idea of starting the Quit India Movement.

The left-wing of course busied itself in revolutionary activities. Large sums were given to workers by prominent industrialists. Abdul Qayyum went on to explain how costly it is to run the underground movement. It required much sums of money to establish a secret office. Hindus were unfortunately narrow minded and did not place much confidence in the Muslims but Qayyum thought that in spite of the wickedness of the Hindus, there was a real need for a united front. Turning to Frontier Province, he said that movement there was definitely a Congress movement and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had discussed the programme with Gandhi. The agitation would have started even if Gandhi would not have been arrested for he would have called for the boycott of the machinery of the Government of India. He also said that there were so many elements within Congress who do not believe in non-violence. It was difficult to control this element especially after the arrest of the leaders. Qayyum made it clear that if Gandhi died, British official life would be in danger. The country would witness another 1857.

———— ·X· ————

171

A Rejoinder to Government's Pamphlet "Congress Responsibility for Disturbances"

F.24/Cong/42-VIII-A February 28, 1943

In reply to the Government's pamphlet "Congress Responsibility for Disturbances", a bulletin was brought out which has been named as People's War No.34 dated 28th February, 1943. It reads:

Finding that international opinion is quickly rallying around for the release of Mahatma Gandhi to save him from the jaws of death, the Government of India has come out with a charge-sheet against the Indian National Congress, fastening on the Congress all responsibility for the disturbance and sabotage taking place after August 9. It is significant that the press summary does not attack the Congress leaders and the Mahatma with deliberate pro-Axis, pro-Japanese activities - an unjustifiable, false charge which was once levelled by interested parties and it was the stock in trade of

all reactionaries especially in Britain. The press instead charges that the National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was promoting violence, anarchy and sabotage as part of the plan of struggle. The evidence which they bring out in support of their contention is a letter of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain. In the first place Jai Prakash Narain was in jail when the Congress leaders were arrested. He escaped from the jail during the course of the struggle and whatever he writes can hardly be taken as the authoritative voice of the Congress Working Committee and much less of the Mahatma. Besides it has been a well-known fact that Mr. Narain has of late been more in sympathy with the Forward Bloc than with the official leadership of the Congress. The Government might as well have quoted Subhas Bose's broadcast over Berlin in their charge-sheet. Secondly, the Government relies on quoting Gandhiji out of context and seeks to make out a case through sheer suppression of real meaning. The charges probably by the Government are a mere propaganda stunt to influence world opinion which is rallying for the release of MahatmaJi. The large mass of the people in Britain and America will not be decided by this stunt; since the Cripps Mission Governmental credit for veracity has been completely undermined. The people abroad have realised the basic fact that GandhiJi's stand for Indian freedom and that the cooperation of Indian people is essentially for common victory.

A telegram dated February 27, 1943, from the Governor General to the Secretary of State for India, London, reads:

You will have seen from informal telegram No.nc44 of February 25th to your Information Department giving Indian press reactions. Criticism is based on (1) one sided nature of document being prosecution case only, (2) unpropitious moment for release, (3) material contained not new. Point to be made is that document was prepared and published in response to widespread public clamour and Government should produce it against Congress; it was already under preparation before Gandhi's fast and was not timed to coincide with it though claims made by Gandhi in correspondence with Viceroy lend us to expedite publication; material is admittedly not complete and mostly not new but is here brought for the first time into coherent whole. It is highly significant that Hindustan Times, most important

national daily at present in publication which had been prominent among those who press for presentation of Government case against Congress has refused publicity to pamphlet on strictly specious ground that precensorship order precludes it from replying to allegations made.

2. Foreign reaction

American correspondents generally adopt neutral attitude and are inclined to reserve judgement also taking point that pamphlet is prosecution case only. Grover, American Associated Press says in effect: Books which offer little new material amounts to prosecution a number for endless debate between Indian and British nationals. Congress leaders who could answer are all in jail. Ends. Small to Chicago Tribune says that book may be said to have achieved its object as far as that is possible by a well argued laywers belief, other side to which is unheard; there is an abundant evidence that Congress foresaw that it is impossible movement would lead to violence and even of its planning violence after arrest of Congress leaders. Ends. British correspondents are more favourable and leave little doubt that in their opinion an unanswerable case against Congress is made out, though there is some criticism of style of production. Marcuse of French Section of Min. of Information considers book a document of considerable importance as it places before public conclusive evidence of not only of Congress responsibility but also of tendency of Congress to capitulate Japan. Jevons Yu of Central News Agency, Chung King dismisses book as an attempt to prove that responsibility for present disturbance lies with Congress; he adopts the detached attitude referring to "alleged" Congress bulletins.

3. Immediate reactions are on whole slightly more favourable than we expected with possible exception of Muslim members, which tends to throw neutral attitude adopted by Jinnah over Gandhi's fast. It is of interest that public demand for sale copies at 4 annas per copy is very large, one bookseller alone having ordered 10,000.

———— ⁘ ————

172

No Condemnation of Violence by Gandhi

F.24/Cong/42-VIII March 3, 1943

There is another report from the Central Intelligence Officer, Central Provinces and Berar dated Nagpur March 3, 1943 quoting a comment by a competent observer on the present political situation.

"Although Gandhi has failed to secure his release, he has succeeded in again bringing the Indian question to the fore, in further embarrassing the British Government, strengthening his personal hold over the Indian people and in preparing the ground for a denunciation by himself of the Congress Movement of the last 7 months. Congressmen are not yet prepared to admit that he has disowned the violence of the rebellion but they are wavering on the point and if Gandhi disowns it explicitly, the surrender on his part will be taken by the people not as a defeat but as a victory in view of the wide sympathy he has attracted through his self-torture already by his half-hearted denunciation of the recent violence, he has administered a rebuff to his old enemies of the left and full disavowal on his part will complete their disquiet and leave may again not indispute control of a non-violence Congress and again a world leader to pacifism. This report is marked for the perusal of the Governor, C.P. and Berar.

———— ·x· ————

173

Distribution Of Money For Purchasing Arms

F.28/Cong/42-B.III March 4, 1943

There is a letter dated March 4, 1943 from I.B.H.D. to Supdt. of Police, C.I.D. S.B. Cuttack. It refers to an attack in the barrack occupied by Sampurnanand in the Banares jail in October 1942. 30 to 40 persons were present. Damodar Shah and others spoke in favour of the Sabotage programme, but Sampurnanand doubted if this really formed part of the Congress movement. Raj Narain Singh should work in the Mirzapur Distt. is

said to have distributed money amongst the regional tribes. To encourage them to secure weapons such as bows and arrows and prepare themselves to participate in the movement.

———— ·X· ————

174

Support of Sir Shri Ram and Shankar Lal for Congress

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV March 10, 1943

Another report dated 10-3-43 says "in the absence of Mrs. Asaf Ali who departed for Bombay a week ago there is more or less a complete lull in Delhi. Jugal Kishore Khanna is of course there but he is at the moment busy with the question of his own safety. Following the arrest of Ram Bilas Sharda, Congress work in villages is also at standstill. However, the labourers of the Delhi Cloth Mills and the Birla Mills under the direct supervision of Triloki Nath is continuing though rather slacked. The officers of the Delhi Cloth Mills help in collection of funds, make voluntary contributions from their salaries to Congress fund and conductive subversive propaganda among the labourers. Sir Shri Ram and Shankar Lal are in sympathy with the Congress. Information suggests that Jai Prakash Narain met Charat Ram S/o Sir Shri Ram and managed to get Rs.10,000, reports explosion of bombs in three or four cinema houses in Delhi on March 7.

———— ·X· ————

175

Intelligence Report regarding Sabotage Work in Assam

F.28/Cong/42-A-III March 13, 1943

According to the statement made by A.K. Dutt, who was arrested in Delhi on 13.3.43, Kanshi Nath Bhattacharya (identity not established) of the Bengal Volunteer Group, an old friend of A.K. Dutt, said at the end of December 1942 in Delhi that he and a few

others in Bengal were absconding and trying to do what they could on the Eastern Frontier, that he was going to Peshawar on a mission, that in his opinion all sabotage should be concentrated on Assam, that he had been in Assam several times and seen good prospect of work there and that the Indian Army could be greatly influenced by carrying on propaganda there. When Dutt opposed the idea of concentrating all sabotage on one place, Bhattacharya insisted that this was the right line, that already heavy losses have been inflicted on Government in a number of different ways by sabotage in Assam where there was chaos and the police were in confusion. He said that he was doing sabotage work in Assam with the help of military people and that his mission to the N.W.F.P. was to meet some leaders with a view to getting trained workers, arms and ammunition.

2. K.N. Bhattacharya met A.K. Dutt on his return from the North-West Frontier on 3.1.43 and said that he had met tribal leaders through one Sher Afzal, a deserter from the Sappers & Miners. He had tried not only to get arms and ammunition but also to persuade them to send men to the Assam frontier to fight against the British. His idea was to start guerilla warfare on the Eastern Frontier with the help of armed Pathans. The tribal chiefs agreed with his plans but were ready only to sent a few bands to Assam and not all their men. On the Eastern Frontier the object of the guerilla fighting would be to harass the Army chiefly by cutting communications between the front line and the ports. Bhattacharya was confident of the success of his scheme. He suggested to A.K. Dutt, a Hydro-Electric Power Station in Assam where electricity was generated for military purposes as a target for sabotage by the guerilla bands, but did not mention its location.

3. A.K. Dutt met Sher Afzal on 1.2.43 and was told by the latter that Bhattacharya had been able to organise groups of boys to do sabotage work in Assam, that he (Afzal) was going to the N.W.F.P. to bring tribal leaders to Assam, so that they could see the situation and if satisfied with Bhattacharya's arrangements, they would send their men to do sabotage work in Assam, and that he had Rs.2000/- for the expenses for the trip of the tribal chiefs to Assam. On Afzal's return from the N.W. Frontier, a few days after, Dutt met him and learnt that he was halting in Delhi for a few days with the tribal chiefs on his way to Calcutta

where Bhattacharya would meet them and take the tribal chiefs to Dibrugarh. Sher Afzal returned to Delhi from Calcutta towards the end of February and told Dutt that he had handed over his companions to K.N. Bhattacharya in Calcutta and they had proceeded from there to Assam. (Sher Afzal's identity has not been established).

4. It is reported that Panna Lal Das Gupta (C.L.I.) visited Assam from time to time to supervise the work of his own group and also that of Niharandu Datta Mazumdar. He is said to have stated that they had under their control in Assam one .380 bore six-chambered revolver with six rounds of ammunition, eight rifles with about 1000 cartridges and about two maunds of explosive powder. Ananda Chaudhury is also reported to have paid visits to Assam, presumably as the head of the Eastern Zone of the A.I.C.C.

5. Information received on 7.4.43 was that three upcountry men had recently visited Chittagong from Assam and had sent two men of Chittagong (identity not stated, one of whom was a Jugantar ex-detenu, to Calcutta to make contact with an unknown F.B. member and to request him to meet them at Mymensingh. The Chittagong men were reported to be trying to get information about the whereabouts of the firearms collected by the party from the military and smuggled out of Fort William in Calcutta. On receipt of an urgent message, the ex-detenu left Calcutta on 9.4.43 and returned after visiting Jamalpur and Mymensingh town and said that he had met the three upcountrymen who had visited Chittagong at Jamalpur and that he had brought a letter from one of them to a F.B. member in Calcutta which ran as follows:

"Comrade. We are again compelled to start for Assam. Mr. Desai has started for Calcutta with money. Please arrange payment after consultation. E."

6. A source report dated 20.1.43 sent by C.I.O. Shillong said that the Mrityubahini Corps of Nowgong - an army pledged to death - (organised by Mohendra Hazarika and Laxmi Kant Goswami Radicalists of Nowgong), wearing Khaki dress of the military and carrying gund, had been devising means to use personal violence against persons who were anti-Congress, police informers, etc. and were alleged to have threatened some persons with death.

7. In a report dated 6.3.43, the C.I.O. Shillong, said that this Corps had been rounded up and their guns and uniforms recovered. A subsequent report dated 13.3.43 from the D.S.P. Nowgong said that the Mrityubahini Corps, was an offshoot of the Congress Shanti Sena organisation and was composed of the toughest elements of the Shanti Sena. It was formed by the Congress terrorists under the leadership of Mohendra Hazarika and was intended for secret subversive activities. They had no uniforms or arms except the guns that were stolen and perhaps a few others that were smuggled. The Corps became identified with the Congress terrorist organisation of Nowgong and each member had to pledge his life for the sake of the country and also pledge implicit obedience to the leader. It had been found that some people from Bengal (e.q. detenus) had contact with Mohendra Hazarika, but nothing definite could be ascertained as to the degree of such contact. It is likely that some other districts of Assam, where terrorists are in action, have similar organisations and presumably there is some sort of link - though the Congress terrorists appear to have concentrated on working more as isolated territorial units. The terrorist gang of Mohendra Hazarika has been practically liquidated for the present by the arrest of almost all the known active members of the Mrityubahini in Nowgong district.

8. Bengal I.B. secret information dated 10.4.43 was that according to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Tarapada Gupta - C.L.I. absconder, "three groups are working in Assam - (a) the C.L.I. group, (b) N. Dutta Mazumdar's group, and (c) a C.S.P. group, which had made contact with the groops. Details are known to Miss Margaret Pople who was sent to Assam by Dr. Lohia probably in January 1943 with instructions to make contact with troops in Assam and to supervise the contacts already made there. Achyut Patwardhan and Dr. R.M. Lohia visit Assam when they come to Bengal and supervise the working of the C.S.P. group in Assam for the purpose of organisation but he could not go. According to Achyut and Lohia the organisation in Assam is "very prospective".

9. According to C.I.O. Shillong's fortnightly report for the first half of August 1943, Jyot Prasad Agarwala, the Tezpur absconder who had surrendered recently was believed with some reason to be the C.S.P. link between

Jai Prakash Narayan and Assam.

10. According to a statement made to a special agent by Achyut Patwardhan in Bombay in July last, the latter was very satisfied with the work of his party in Assam in contacting the army.

———— ·X· ————

176

M.M. Shah's Confessional Statement before the Police

F.28/Cong/42-D-III

March 16, 1943

(Extract from the statement of M.M. Shah dated March, 1943)

English newsletter and bulletins:

This was directly under Mrs. Asaf Ali and E. Narayanan. Even after his arrest it continued to remain under her personal and direct supervision. The news were being collected by the High Command through various sources like the A.I.C.C. Information Department, the demonstration side of the city, the Vaid and U.P. sections of sabotage workers, the students section which consisted of Giri*, Rajinder Bhasker, Bishan*, Om Nath*, Singal*, Baij Nath*, Dev Parkash Arora, Raj Narain, and others, the village section under Krishna Nair, the mills and the various

---

*Giri is a post-graduate student of Hindu College. He was arrested in the early days of this struggle and was sentenced to 2 months' R.I.

*Bishan. He was also arrested with Giri and he belongs to Hindu College.

*Om Nath. He is also a student of Hindu College.

*Singhal. He is a student of the Commercial College and probably stays in the Hostel.

*Baij Nath Mehta. He was a clerk in the office of A.G.C.R., New Delhi. He was arrested in New Delhi.

miscellaneous events and happenings throughout Delhi and neighbouring places.

XXX XXX XXX

Some secretariat boys whom I do not know but who were in touch with Mrs. Asaf Ali, used to post these newsletters in "On His Majesty's Service" envelopes and stamps. I cannot say who were the clerks of the secretariat known to Mrs. Asaf Ali. They were either known to her or Mool Raj Anand. As a matter of fact in the first two months of the struggle these Congress newsletters were being actually stencilled, cyclostyled and reproduced in the Secretariat itself by persons whom neither the High Command nor any one of us knew.

The Hindu and Urdu section of printed literature and posters

This was being looked after by Jugal Kishore Khanna, Ram Lal Verma and Gopi Nath Aman. Most of the bulletins and posters were written by Jugal Kishore Khanna himself who used to send them over to Ram Lal Verma through messenger service. The Hindi printing was mostly done through Ramesh Mehta. As I had not come in close contact with Ram Lal Verma, I do not know the details of the press arrangements. However, the distribution was being done through various centres which were in charge of Premiji of Hauz Qazi, Pearey Lal and Khushi Ram.

XXX XXX XXX

The cyclostyling of Urdu and Hindi Literature

There were some four cyclostyle machines for this purpose. One was in charge of Prof. Dhulia* for the mills work till his arrest and which was discontinued later on as we left paying much attention to the mills. This machine was later given to some Birla Mill worker of Subzimandi, whose name I do not know. Only sometimes the city literature used to be sent to the Mills.

XXX XXX XXX

The differences on money matters particularly and the conduct of the struggle in general used to always come up between the view points of Mrs. Asaf Ali and J.K. Khanna. He was a man of long experience and by temperament he was very thrifty and pessimistic (though

---

*Prof. Dhulia was arrested on the 10th of November 1942.

on the realistic side). Shrewd lawyer as he was, he used to judge a man rightly but generally failed to inspire them. Mrs. Asaf Ali was a liberal, enthusiastic, warm-hearted and inspiring type of woman. Though her judgement of persons was not so correct and she often overstimated any worker's ability, she was a great inspirer. More and more I used to come in her contact, I felt that she was a very able woman possessing great capacities for initiative and leadership.

———— ·X· ————

177

Sardar Baisakha Singh's Support to Aruna Asaf Ali

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV March 17, 1943

According to another report, Rai Bahadur Sardar Baisakha Singh, Government Contractor, 5-Jantar Mantar Road, is said to have been assisting Aruna Asaf Ali. On a raid being made in two quarters situated on a service road of Aurangzeb Lane - property of Baisakha Singh though rented in the name of B.D. Joshi, a clerk in the Finance Department of the Government of India - A.K. Dutt S/o Dr. S.K. Dutt of Bhawanipur, Calcutta, newphew of Dr. S. Dutt till recently Principal, Ramjas College and P. Vishwanath, a clerk in the Military Finance Department were found and arrested. Mr. A.K. Dutt is known to have been concerned with revolutionary activities and certain papers and leaflets and a Secretariat Pass issued in the name of K.V. Shimbhu, a clerk in the Finance Department (since joined the Indian Air Force probably as an officer), a few letters addressed to E.R.K. Menon, clerk, Finance Department, Govt. of India, were recovered. One of the sheets was being used for typing a document on the subject of Gandhi's fast over the typed name of Ram Manohar Lohia.

———— ·X· ————

178
Coal Supplies Affected in Bihar

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV March 21, 1943

The C.I.D. report dated March 21, 1943, from Bihar reports attack made on the Tilrath Station (Monghyr) on March 16 and Teghra Station (March 18) instigated by leading Congress absconders of Monghyr and Bhagalpur.

From a letter from Emersden to Beveridge, U.P., I.B., New Delhi, we learn that "Bihar is not doing anything to restrain the nest of dangerous Congress members in the heart of the coal area. Since Khurshed Ben Naoroji intended to disorganise coal output possibly by sabotage to the railways it is not surprising that failing successful sabotage the Congress stalwarts should have used other methods to disorganise supplies of coal to Calcutta. As a result coal at one time reached price of Rs.6/- or so per maund in Calcutta. From press notice I see that the local coal contractors had not been fully utilising the wagons allotted to them. Private profit could, therefore, be combined with terrorism.

———— ·X· ————

179
Activities of Jai Prakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV March 29, 1943

A secret report received with Bihar S.B. dated 29th March, 1943, says "one Devki Babu of Khas Pur, P.S. Bikram, District Patna visited Calcutta ten days ago where he met a relation of absconder Shyam Nandan Singh who told him that the absconder had left Calcutta the day before for Assam. Ganga Saran Singh (of Bihar Red List) has also heard that Shyam Nandan Singh had gone to Assam to plan some way of sending J.P. Narain and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia out of India. They anticipate their arrest and are anxious to join the Japs and continue their activity from Burma.

Another report from Bihar suggests that J.P. Narain proposes to carry out destructive and constructive

programme side by side, the former includes attacks on officials and recruitment of subversive elements in police and army and will be carried out by Hindustan Republican Army while the C.S.P. makes efforts to maintain order and acquire public sympathy.

———— ·X· ————

180
Underground Activities in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV April 3, 1943

Extract from a note of subversive activities for the fortnight ending March 29, 1943, received with C.I.O. Lucknow dated April 3, 1943, reports quieter situation in U.P. and applauds the police for the arrest of Dhudeo Paliwal and number of other terrorist youths responsible for all the recent cases in which gelignite was used and for some five other cases of sabotage and terrorism. It appears that gelignite was supplied by a contractor at Gwalior, Sagar Singh who has also been taken into custody. Prof. Jang Bahadur Jha of the Agra College who was said to have a large chemical laboratory in his house has also been arrested. Aligarh bomb case which occured in 1942 has also been worked out. In this case in which two constables were killed, one Kishan Lal Varma, war teachnician, has been arrested. Further progress has been made in the Kanpur Railway Station bomb case. The connection of Kanpur terrorists with Delhi and particularly in Acharya Jugal Kishore and Gopi Nath Singh is further established. In Gorakhpur 16 absconders have been rounded up though 2 dangerous terrorists Kailash Pati Misra and Balrup Keori who were roped in after long and hard work have made good their escape. No progress has been made in working out the arson and bomb case which occured in Benares Hindu University in February last. In the Jaunpur Azamgarh area, statements have been secured about the Khorasan Station burning and Belariaganj dacoity case. In Ballia some indiscipline in the jail met with an examplary punishment by the District Magistrate. Chittu Pande, the notorious has been set free.

There are references to one B.P. Sinha of Patna who

was a professor in Lucknow is said to have taken part in the 1942 Movement and was specially summoned to Delhi to work in the underground movement under the orders of Acharya Jugal Kishore and that after the arrest of the latter on 2.1.43 he took his place. He was recommended to be detained indefinitely under Defence Rule 26 (vide letter from R.G. Mellor, C.I.D., Delhi to J.P.W. Johnston, I.P., Special Branch, Bihar, Patna).

There is a letter from the Superintendent of Police. C.I.D., S.B., U.P., which quotes extract from the diary of an officer dated February 28, 1943. The extract runs "Recently in his correspondence with His Excellency, Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi has mentioned that the sabotages which have been committed throughout the country were not in accordance with the Congress programme. The publication of this correspondence has created a disrupture in the Congress camp. It has already been reported that the present Congress Movement is run by the Congress Socialists who were all along in favour of sabotage. Since this correspondence has been published the true Gandhites have been seriously thinking not to support Socialists in this matter and a gulf is gradually widening between the two groups. With a view to know the real feeling of Mr. Gandhi on the subject, Aney, who was approached by the present Congress High Command, has gone to have an interview with Gandhi. Further instructions are being awaited in the hope that either before or after the breaking of the fast Mahatma Gandhi is said to have communicated his views and further instructions of someone of the interviewers and those instructions will be carried out.

According to a reliable source about the subversive organisation formed by Jai Prakash Narain it was said that his programme is divided into five sections which comprise the enrolement of volunteers; the collection of arms and preparation of bombs and explosives; propaganda; the collection of money and payment of allowance to workers and to government servants who are supplying information. Prominent among propaganda activities are approaches to military and police not only by contact from outside but by the enlistment of selected workers within the ranks.

An abstract from the U.P., C.I.D., report for the fortnight March 1, 1943, received with C.I.O., Lucknow,

dated March 8, 1943 refers to the continuance of distribution of leaflets inciting hartals etc. Two more cases in which gelignite was used have occurred in Agra and there is now evidence of direct connection with the Delhi Terrorist Organisation and its Gwalior branch. There are still cells of considerable potentiality to be wiped out in Benares, Kanpur and Agra while Jaunpur and Badaun District still harbours gangs of Congress-cum-dacoits who are exploiting the movement. In Ghazipur, many absconders have been arrested while Baba Raghav Das has thought it advisable to shift his centre of activities from Gorakhpur. Allahabad was quieter. At Kanpur usual Congress activities. In the railway station bomb case at Kanpur, an important rebel of Ballia, Jagdish Narain Tewari and one of the Congress leaders who escaped from jail in Bihar with Jai Prakash Narain are said to be involved. Sabotage cases in Lucknow, Bara Banki and Faizabad. In Mainpuri gang responsible for sabotage in Farrukhabad area was cleaned up.

Jai Parkash Sharma of Meerut has made a statement in which he admits his connections with the Delhi organisation and Mrs. Asaf Ali a lady which enjoys such amenity as must indicate very influential protection in the centre of Government while Ratan Singh another member of the gang has given information about his association with Ambika Prasad and other saboteurs. It is of interest that Ratan Singh had in his possession a certificate from the publicity officer of Saharanpur in respect of his war work. In Kumaon, registers in the local Ramsay Mission School at Almora were burnt and a bomb exploded in the Tehsildar's quarter at Haldwani.

———— ·X· ————

181
Activities of Baba Raghav Das

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV

April 5, 1943

Report from C.I.D., U.P. and Ajmer, Lucknow, refers to the activities of Baba Raghav Das who is said to have employed a clerk of the R.M.S. Delhi as a messenger to call other Congress workers from U.P. to meet him. This source also gave information regarding

the house etc. where Raghav Das stayed in Delhi. It appears from the report that as Gandhi seems to be prepared to denounce violent sabotage activity committed by the people, there was some slackening in terrorists activities. Raghav Das also said that Rajagopala Acharya had formed this impression of Gandhi's views when he interviewed him during his fast and that C.R. had also interviewed Sir Philips who seemed to be sympathetic and prepared to help provided Mahatma would condemn violence. Heera Ballabh Tripathi, a vakil of Saharanpur who is said to be in touch with the underground workers has told them that Congress workers should no longer take part in violent subversive activities as the AICC would no longer appreciate the assistance of saboteurs and anyone who does it would do it at his own risk.

———— ·X· ————

182

Kiran Shankar Roy Against Sabotage: Nizamuddin's Overtures to Ananda Bazar

F.28/Cong/42-A-III April 10, 1943

An extract from the secret information dated 10.4.1943 from the C.I.D. Calcutta refers to the report of three groups.

1. C.L.I.
2. N.Datta Majumdar's group, and
3. A.C.S.P. group

These groups are working in Assam in trying to contact the troops.

According to a C.I.D. report Kiran Shankar Roy had received instructions to send a representative to Allahabad to participate in a debate to be held by different provincial and AICC representatives on the advisability of continuing the struggle. Kiran Shankar has advised his nominee to condemn the sabotage movement roundly with special reference to the miserable plight of the people of Midnapur.

According to another report dated April 30,1943 the police was able to arrest a group of nine young members of the Congress Socialist Party who wanted to raid two

post offices in Calcutta. They had with them a bundle carrying 8 country-made hand-balls.

The meeting held on 30th as referred to above at Allahabad decided that the sabotage movement must continue until Gandhiji issues directions to the contrary. It was maintained that his letter to the Viceroy did not intimate that Gandhi was opposed to the sabotage movement.

It had been reported (C.I.D. report dated April, 1943) that Sir Nazimuddin in his negotiations with the Forward Bloc has undertaken to release Suresh Majumdar, Director of the Anand Bazar Partika and a dangerous member of the Congress Socialist Party and in return had secured the support of Anand Bazar Press for his Ministry as with the exception of few uninfluential Muslim papers, the press in Bengal was uniformly hostile to him.

According to a report dated 27.5.43, Monoranjan Chowdhury has on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha opened one rest house, one hospital and five primary schools in Contai, Midnapur ostensibly with the object of helping the famine stricken people but really to assist Congress rebels especially absconders with their families. Other similar institutions are being opened.

———— ·X· ————

183
Rebel Absconders in U.P. - An Official Assessment

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV April 19, 1943

A C.I.D. report dated April 19, 1943, reports the number of rebel absconders in this province of U.P. is still considerable though the vast majority is of little real importance. So far as the small fry is concerned, there is evidence to show that the subordinate police in some cases has not been as assiduous in effecting arrest as they might have been and this is for a variety of reasons. The present harvesting season offers a golden opportunity of bringing absconders to heel by carrying out confiscation of crops on the trashing floors rigidly and honestly. The lengthy

statement of Kishen Lal Varma in Aligarh reveals the existence over a considerable period of a bomb factory, connections with the Central Terrorists Organisation in Delhi etc. It also refers to the statement of one Bhu Deo Paliwal which throws light on important part played by prof. Jang Bhadur Jha of Agra College and Dr.Lalit recently arrested. In Gorakhpur two terrorists Kailashpati and Balrup Keori escaped with the connivance of seven members of the jail staff.

———— ·X· ————

184

Central Intelligence Officer, U.P. Expresses Apprehension of Rebel Propaganda

F.28/Cong/42-E April 26, 1943

In an abstract from report dated April 26, 1943 C.I.O., U.P., expresses the fear of the Government that the rebel propaganda has been able to win adherence in units of the fighting forces. It suggests that any exemption that after the termination of the war, the government of the country would be handed over to the Congress, should be dispelled. Verification of the character of recruits to the fighting services and the police should be careful and thorough, the contacts of the members of the fighting forces must be closely watched, censorship should be intelligent and thorough and soldiers on leave should be properly watched not to mix with subversive elements.

Another report from U.P. dated 26-4-43 suggests that despite steady progress only 80 of a total of 210 absconders have been caught.

———— ·X· ————

185

Rebel Propaganda in Armed Forces

F.24/Cong/42-V April 26, 1943

In an abstract from report dated April 26, 1943 C.I.O. U.P., expresses the fear of the Government that the

rebel propaganda has been able to win adherence in units of the fighting forces. It suggests that any exemption that after the termination of the war, the government of the country would be handed over to the Congress, should be dispelled. Verification of the character of recruits to the fighting services and the police should be careful and thorough, the contacts of the members of the fighting forces must be closely watched, censorship should be intelligent and thorough and soldiers on leave should be properly watched not to mix with subversive elements.

———— ·X· ————

186

Underground Activities in Delhi Under Aruna Asaf Ali: Daljit Singh, Puri and Others Involved

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV April 28, 1943

There is an abstract from the statement of K.V. Shambhu of village Bekal, South Kanara, Madras, dated 28-4-43 from which we learn that the bulletins to be issued in Delhi on behalf of the Congress were being cyclostyled at the instance of Aruna Asaf Ali with the help of Mr. R.P. Puri of Central News Agency and Mool Raj Anand and P. Patnaik. It appears from this statement that Mrs. Asaf Ali was the Chief leader of the movement in Delhi. The work of Congress publicity had been left mostly to Mr. Puri who used to get the bulletins cyclostyled. There are frequent references to the visit of Mrs. Asaf Ali to the accused and other workers. sometimes she would send for them and met in a house sometimes at Darya Ganj and on other occasion at Ring Road and the next time she would pay a visit herself. They have also rented out a house on the Aurangzeb Lane where cyclostyling work etc. was done by Shambhu, A.K.Dutt, a student, and Viswa Nath used to reside. One Dr. Jagdish Prasad Srivastava would bring instructions from Mrs. Asaf Ali for the work to be done. Later on she also stayed in this house for a night. Among the visitors of Dutt was Daljit Singh a Sikh youth who appeared to be a rich man and came to Aurangzeb Lane twice to see Dutt. (Daljit Singh is the son of Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh, Member of the Council of State and well-known landlord and contractor of

Delhi). Both times they went out in the verandah and talked secretly. Once he came on a cycle and the other time I saw him coming on foot. When Shambhu later on decided to leave the Congress and get himself recruited in the Air Force, he was taken to Scindia House in a car by a companion of Daljit Singh from where he went to the Railway Station the next day to join his post. Shambhu also relates that while in Aurangzeb Lane, Mrs. Asaf Ali had sent him a letter for Devdas Gandhi which I was to carry to him. He duly conveyed the letter and also again on 17-2-43.

An abstract from the report of Superintendent of Police, Special Branch, C.I.D., for the year 1942 says that the revolutionary ideas were spread by the Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialist Party. Forward Bloc had their headquarters at Bombay. Bombs were manufactured in many areas and a definite central control for such activities was later discovered to be operating under the guidance of the Congress Socialist Party from Delhi.

There is an interesting abstract from the statement of M.M Shah, Lately of Delhi Cloth Mills, who is described as an important Congress underground leader of Delhi arrested on 9.1.43 According to this statement, Mrs.Asaf Ali and Jugal Kishore constituted a High Command of Delhi Province. They told us to concentrate our energies on the mills strike as it constituted most important item of their programme of the struggle. Our main contact for all the work concerning the High Command was to be through Surinder Nath Johar.

Important members of the movement in Delhi were Basrukar, Kundan Lal Sharma, Govind Saran, Durga Das Bhandari, Pant, Sushila Mohan, E.Narayanan, Mool Raj, Surinder Nath Johar, myself (M.M.Shah) and the High Command. Later on Dr.Gairola of Benares University came as he was anxious to work at Delhi. Dr. Gairola said that he and one of his colleagues Prof. Radhey Sham had some arrangements for guiding fire arms and other materials. Our new scheme to stop the working in mills was to create essential group deadlock by holding back the engine man and the spinning preparatory worker by small payments to the individuals who were not more than 200 in each group. Our estimate was that we might have to spend Rs.2500 to Rs.3000 for this purpose. One Ramesh Mehta and Nand Lal Mehta also were active workers. Nand Lal Mehta was to be our main contact with

the High Command and he was to be available at his place from 1-30 to 2-30 P.M. daily. Jugal Kishore Khanna, on another meeting, gave us instructions which have been sent by the AICC for the Gandhi Jayanti. Krishna Nayar, I learnt, was organising villagers of Delhi for the struggle. Rs.2,000/- were sent to one Girwar Narain Ved on his request as he wanted to purchase implements, chemical materials, fire arms etc. for the scheme of sabotage under his direction. This Ved was said to be organising a big sabotage party who was working in collaboration with Prof. Radhey Sham of Benares. Dr. Gairola, E. Narayanan and some other workers of U.P. were also working under Ved. Ved was said to be expert in making bombs, hand-grenades, time bombs and incendiary bomb which he was teaching now to Delhi boys Shanti and Bishen. Later on some differences arose, it appears, between the U.P. Group and Ved and Prof. Radhey Sham and his colleagues separated from Ved. The main difference was that U.P. workers were not prepared to do anything substantial in Delhi. They had their own organisation and wanted to work in U.P. while Ved, Shanti, Hari and Bishen wanted to work for Delhi and as per instructions of Delhi High Command. Five live bombs prepared by Hari and Varma under Ved's direction and placed on railway line, four proved inactive. Meanwhile Ved was arrested and nothing substantial could be done. This statement makes the interesting revelation that Mrs. Asaf Ali was particularly keen in damaging the transmission lines of the All-India Radio and she used to often say that every person, whoever used to talk privately, personally and secretly to her in serious manner as to his plan of action, promised her to execute this plan of her in a very short time but months have passed without anything being done in that direction. She had also expressed the desire to see important members of Ved's group. Besides Ved's group which was almost like the official local high command group for sabotage activities, there were Rames Mehta group, the Rajinder Bhaskar Party, the students group and the U.P. group who were supposed to be working in the sabotage direction. However, these last four groups were functioning independently and never consulted the High Command except asking for money sometimes. In spite of this, Mrs. Asaf Ali was always ready to help and encourage them or anybody else. With the consent of the other members of the High Command it

was decided to adopt Desh Bandhu Gupta's scheme of opening recruiting centres for the recruitment of volunteers on relief basis on Rs.15/- per month for the period of imprisonment. She gave various amounts of money for this purpose and told me to ask Rashid Khan to enlist volunteers. She also gave another sum of Rs.500/- to be sent to each worker as his personal monthly allowance of Rs.50/- as decided previously. Every active worker, big or small, was being paid Rs.50/- per month. Mrs. Asaf Ali also suggested that everyone of us should have different names. She was now being called Bhabi Ji but as it had become too well known she wanted herself to be known as Kusum Devi or Vidyavatiji. Jugal Kishore Khanna, though he never changed his name was addressed by her as K.Ji or 'Big Boss' or 'Boss'. I was to be called Manohar, Dr. Srivastava as Goyal, etc. etc. but perhaps most of these names were not adopted by us except in case of Aruna. Our messenger service was not very satisfactory. Each one of us had to work as a messenger now and then. Our Practice was not to keep one messenger continuously for a long period for fear of being followed by C.I.D. We used to select boys or some other young fellows who were not prepared for any serious active work to act as a messenger for about a fortnight and then change him. The messenger did not know the name of the owner of the house where the High Command was staying. He was only given the address of the place and he had to ask the house-wife to let him meet Bhabhi or Kusum Devi which were the usual pass words. They were also trying to get some land mines from U.P. group (Acharya Jugal Kishore and Prof. Radhey Sham). They were also trying to have some fire bottles and other material. They were able to procure some 20 dynamite sticks from the U.P. group and fire bottles. These fire bottles were called Drakshashav (a bottle of ferment of grapes) to which they resembled.

———— ·X· ————

187
Arrest of Dr.Gairola and Others

F.28/Cong.P42-B-IV May 10, 1943

Dr.Gairola has been arrested in Delhi and Jiwa Ram

Paliwal in Lahore. Large stocks of live bombs, shells for bombs, explosive materials, and a revolver were recovered in Cawnpore from members of the gang responsible for the station bomb case of February last and further arrests have been made. It transpired that Sagar Singh of Guna in Gwalior State, announced by the Gwalior Police as having been arrested by them, managed to escape from the State, was traced to Hardoi and caught there and is now making a statement. He admits having supplied two hundred sticks of gelignite to Delhi through Sheo Prasad and Radhey Shyam and to have trained youths from Agra in the use of firearms. He alleges that gelignite used in Agra was obtained by Prof. Jha of Agra College through Niranjan Singh of the C.P. from the Jubbulpore Arsenal. Verification of statements made in the Aligarh bomb case as also in the bomb cases of Agra is proceeding and further arrests have been made in the former. In Benares Ram Chandra Bapat, a revolutionary of Ajmer, and Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, a local revolutionary have been arrested.

There is some evidence now of the activities of a CSP cum Congress organisation in Benares in recent months in which people like Khan Chand Gautam, B.P. Sinha and Basawan Singh of Bihar were prominent. These three have been arrested some time ago. Professor Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidyapith and Dr.Swaminath Singh of Gorakhpur, now living in Benares, are reported to be still active and it seems clear that Sardat Singh Mahnot of the Benares Silk and Cotton Mills took a leading part. This information is being developed.

———— ·X· ————

Achyut Patwardhan's Role in Maharashtra

F.10/IS/42-II

May 11, 1943

In a statement dated May 11, 1943, Shridhar Purshottam Limaye of Poona mentions that in Maharashtra the movement was directed by Achyut Patwardhan. Four departments were set up called the Propaganda Department, Bulletin Department, Funds Department and the Destruction Department. The last department had the work of blowing up of roads, bridges, cutting wires,

breaking telephone communications and collect explosives. This department was under Limaye, Mama Gokhale and Nana Dharam Adhikari.

There was also attached a translation of a Marathi script found on some of the papers captured from the Satyagrahis which advises them to proclaim independence to instigate Government servants to resign, to capture Government offices, courts, to stop supply of building materials to the military, not to pay fines imposed on villages, to make friendship with police and military and compel them to resign, etc.

———— ·X· ————

189

Gairola and Radhey Shyam Active in B.H.U.

F.10/IS/42-II

May 11, 1943

According to a statement of Mr.Kanwar Raj Ghulati of Sialkot City, who was a student in the Banaras Hindu University, news of Gandhiji's arrest atonce led to a strike in the University, the students collected and asked Prof. U.S. Asrani to give them instructions. Huge procession was taken out which ended in a meeting. Next day again a strike was declared and a procession was arranged. On the 10th Prof. Asrani was arrested and Dr.Gairola and Prof. Radhey Shiam took over. Students were sent to the nearby villages to spread the news of Gandhiji's arrest and they were asked to march in procession to the city to protest against the action of the Government. Daily meetings of the students were held and in the evening the students refused to go out to do sabotage work. A 24 hours watch was organised by the students at the main gate and no non-student was allowed to enter the University. Half a dozen students were detected who were thought to be police informers and they were kept in their own room each for one night and were requested to give up. By that time firing had started. On the 19th at about 4 A.M. about one dozen mounted and regular troops arrived equipped with tear gas cylinders, exy-acethyene burners and machine guns and gave 30 minutes notice to the students to quit the university area. Luggage of the students were carried to the

university gates by the police and the Vice-Chancellor went to the railway station to arrange for special trains.

———— ·X· ————

190

Secret Help to Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali

F.28/Cong./42-E

May 12, 1943

According to a report dated 12-5-1943 from the C.I.D. Lahore, Jugal Kishore Khanna is still directing local activities in Delhi and he is stressing instructions that every Congress worker should appoint a successor in the event of emergency that rural propaganda should be intensified one Decca known to Delhi C.I.D. is in charge.

It is stated in a strictly secret report from C.I.O., Lahore, that M/s Lok Nath and Sons, Cloth Dealders, Connaught Place, New Delhi, have been collecting messages for Mrs.Asaf Ali from outside Delhi through their Simla branch and delivering them to her through their Delhi branch.

———— ·X· ————

191

Efforts to Gain American Sympathy by Congress Underground Leaders

F.28/Cong/42-E

May 24, 1943

There is a strictly secret report La-D.6 dated 24-5-43 from which we learn that the Congress underground leaders have come to some understanding with the Free Press Journal, Bombay, which will publish matters which will be of help to the Congress cause. Members of the allied forces stationed in India particularly Americans will be approached to subscribe to this paper. Other Indian newspapers will also be approached to copy these news. The Hindustan Times and National Call have already published full text of Louis Fischer's spech at San Francisco Hall.

John Ripy Morris of U.P.A. have agreed under pressure from Devdas Gandhi to receive such news which may prove helpful to the Congress cause and transmit some ideas to the USA through the agency. In other words he has agreed to be as helpful as he possibly can within his limitations. Indian papers like Patrika, Hindustan Times, Tribune, Hindu will subscribe to U.P.A.

———— ·X· ————

192

Aruna Asaf Ali's Activities in Delhi: Contact with Sir Srivastava's Daughter

F.28/Cong./42-E June 10, 1943

There is an abstract from the statement of Rajinder Paul Puri alias Paul alias Kamal of Hoshiarpur. Puri relates how he was introduced to Mrs.Asaf Ali through his friend Prashar. Aruna enquired from Prashar if the news about the burning of boxes had appeared in the paper. She also told me that her letters to me would be signed Bhabi. She told Prashar that she was weak because she had to keep indoors. She could not afford to go out in the interest of work she had undertaken. At the arrest of M.D.Shah a rumour spread in the city that important papers had been recovered from him and Aruna instructed Babu Triloki Nath of Delhi Cloth Mills to tell Dewan ji to spread a rumour that the literature recovered from Shah was simply Congress bulletins and no papers of any importance. Aruna was of the opinion that Dewan ji was an expert in broadcasting rumours. Then again Paul relates how he accompanied Shah and some others to paste lables bearing Indian names on the sign-boards of the roads having English names, Shah was arrested red handed who managed to escape after paying Rs.100 to a police man. Again Paul relates how he carried letters from Aruna to Sarla Srivastava, daughter of Hon'ble Sir J.P. Srivastava, Member-in-Charge, Civil Defence Department. Sarla had expressed a desire some-time back according to Aruna to court imprisonment. So she wrote to enquire whether she was willing even now. Sarla, however, declined to express her readiness to raise funds, however, and to obtain for

them the confidential reports of the Government of India. Aruna again wrote to Sarla that she should force her father to resign on the issue of Gandhi's fast and in case of his refusal to resort to hunger strike. But Sarla replied saying that as her father has taken the line of Hindu Mahasabha, he could not follow her advice. Again, Aruna wrote to Sarla to get a dinner arranged in the honour of Governor of U.P. at the Imperial Hotel cancelled in sympathy with Gandhi's fast. Sarla expressed her inability as it had been fixed up long before Gandhi undertook fast. It was found later on that lady Srivastava and her daughter did not attend in sympathy with Gandhi's fast.

———— ·X· ————

193

Activities of Baba Raghav Das in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-E June 10, 1943

According to a U.P.,C.I.D. report dated June 10, 1943 Baba Raghav Das was the moving spirit in U.P. and he was assisted by Swami Nath and Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidya Peth as well as by P.Narain of the same institution and some important members of the local Congress Party who were released from detention sometime ago. From Swami Nath's statement reunification of the organisation in the eastern districts are indicated while it seems that Chandra Shekhar has gone to build up rebel machinery in the west. The general scheme to be followed is that laid down in the Bombay pamphlet the A B C of dislocation, 24 page production giving elaborate instructions as to the formation of Azad Dastas, the area and provincial organisation and technical details of the plans of sabotage. Training in methods of sabotage has already been imparted to a number of people in Benares and Mughal Sarai. A number of organisers are visiting districts. Leaflets also play an important part. Many have been received from Bombay while others were prepared locally. People like Agha Zaidi of C.S.P. and Jaunpur and the Lucknow student Venky have been to Bombay and there is direct contact between the Central Directorate in that city and Kanpur and Lucknow. Mrs. Asaf Ali has been pressing for the restoration of the

disintegrated rebel centres in those cities and has promised supplies of money and paper as well as leaflets etc. The Bombay Organisation appears to be functioning strongly as is evident from information about the visits of provincial organisers for instructions and obtaining material and also by the spate of leaflets issuing from there, chiefly the Congress bulletins which appear as regularly as clock work. An interesting indication that all rebels do not see eye to eye is to be found in a comparison of Congress bulletin No.251 dated May 26, 1943 and a Forward Bloc leaflet called Azad Hind and dated May 25. The former pretends to be anti-Axis but accuses Churchill of deliberately fostering Japan in order to counteract American influence in the Far East and of deliberately sacrificing China. Azad Hind on the other hand is openly fifth column stole the virtues of Germany and Japan and tries to show that India could win freedom only through the Axis countries.

———— ·X· ————

194

Report Regarding Activities of Daljit Singh in Delhi: Sobha Singh's Involvement Alleged

F.28/Cong./42-B.5 June 19, 1943

There is an interesting note on the activities of Sardar Daljit Singh,son of Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh of New Delhi prepared by C.I.D. Delhi dated 19.6.43. Writing about the activities of Daljit Singh, the note said, that we now know beyond doubt that he has been actively concerned in the movement and has been of great assistance to it. It has been established beyond doubt that House No. 61, Block No. 5, Karol Bagh and a flat in Scindia House were used for the accommodation of the Congress absconders including Aruna Asaf Ali. These two premises were arranged by Daljit Singh and also the furniture supplied which was debited to his account. It was a bad slip for Daljit Singh to have rented the house for Srivastava and the furniture for Goel, the name adopted by Srivastava. Aruna stayed with Daljit Singh at the house of Sobha Singh. Daljit also applied for a commission in the army. We know that Congress plans include attempts to win over the Indian

army and for this purpose to plant cells in the Indian army both in the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks. The possibility is that Daljit Singh was joining the army at the instigation of the Congress. Daljit has acted in a highly objectionable manner. He has money and position and suspicion of being implanted in Congress affairs would not automatically be entertained against him. There are many more and it will not surprise me if Sobha Singh is included amongst them who have done so much in Delhi to further the cause of Congress underground movement and make it difficult for the authorities to deal with it. Remarking on it, Delhi C.I.D. noted "I have asked G.S. Branch to have him black-listed for enlistment. I hope he will, however, be arrested before long".

———— ·X· ————

195

Demonstration by Students in Bengal

F.28/Cong/42-A-III June 25, 1943

Dr.Maitreyee Bose was the leader of the Students War Council which contained the C.S.P., C.L.I. and R.S.P. R.S.P. was not included because of the suspicion of the misappropriation of funds.

At a meeting of students it was decided that the following students were to be in charge of the school and college students demonstrations noted against each:

1. Sasadhar Ganguly - Vidyasagar College,University and the schools around.
2. Chitta Das - City college and St. Paul's College.
3. Rabi Das Gupta - St.Xavier's College and Asutosh College.
4. Nripen Mazumdar - Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy College and school and other schools in North Calcutta.
5. Sourin Bhattacharji- Schools in South Calcutta.

———— ·X· ————

196

Activities of Kiran Shankar Roy and Others

F.28/Cong/42-A-III June 25, 1943

For some time in the past absconders who belong to the Official Congress Party and had taken to the sabotage movement against the directions of the party by joining up with Annada Chowdhury and his bunch, have been sending their emissaries repeatedly to Kiran Shankar Roy to give his opinion as to whether they should now surrender to the authorities. These men include Ajoy Mukherji, Tulsi Das, Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury and others of Midnapore, Dasarathi Ta of Burdwan, Atulya Ghosh of Hooghly, Sushil Palit of Bankura and one Saroj Ranjan of Balurghat. Kiran Shankar Roy had some of the absconders contacted through the emissaries sent by them and gathered that it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to remain underground due to the hostile attitude of the masses and scarcity of food. After consulting other members of his party he at first decided on directing the absconders to surrender as proposed by them, but subsequently withheld permission on receipt of information from Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar to the effect that Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar had given him to understand that one of the foremost acts of Lord Wavell on assumption of office would be to grant a general amnesty to the Congress prisoners. In such an eventuality Kiran Shankar Roy thought that there was no point in surrendering now.

———— ⁂ ————

197

Movement Gathers Momentum in Assam

F.28/Cong/42-A-III June 25, 1943

(Copy of D.O. No.8237/A.S. (10)43/S.B. dated Shillong, the 25th June 1943, from the D.I.G. of Police, Assam, to Asstt.Director (S), Intelligence Bureau, Govt. of India, New Delhi.)

Reference your office No.10/R.A./43 dated the 10th June 1943 and in continuation of my D.O. No. 12980

S.E. dated the 6th November 1942, I write to inform you that the dacoity case mentioned therein has since been acquitted by the Additional Sessions Judge, Sylhet.

During the period under report the C.D. Movement flared up in its worst form in this province. At the outbreak of the movement, Assam was quiet but as time went on, the mass movement began to gather momentum till it burst out in the shape of violent mass attack and arson on the Government and other public buildings, destruction of telegraph and telephone wires and bridges on important public roads. Simultaneously with the mass movement acts of sabotage were committed on the railways and roads. There were seven attempts. No clue was found in four of these derailment cases while one ended in the conviction of seven persons, for being sentenced to capital punishment, two to ten years R.I. and one being released under section 562 Cr.P.C. for three years. On appeal, H.E. the Governor of Assam upheld the sentence of death passed on one of them while reduced the death sentence passed on the three others to ten years' R.I. each. The remaining two cases are still under police investigation.

In the districts of Nowgong and Kamrup, the Congress volunteers wearing Khaki uniforms and posing as Military officials, started a new campaign to collect firearms from the villagers representing to them that the guns were wanted by the Deputy Commissioner. Seventeen guns were thus taken in Nowgong District. All these guns have since been recovered. Seven guns which were stolen in Kamrup District are still untraced.

The murder of an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police by the Congress Workers was reported from Nowgong District. The Assistant Sub-Inspector was reported missing on 30.10.42. He was decoyed from his house by his so-called friends on the pretext of being helped in securing the arrest of one Mohendra Hazarika and another Lakshmi Prasad Goswami- two notorious political absconders. He fell a victim to their trap and was brutally murdered. The case is still under investigation. The Assistant Sub-Inspector's spy was also murdered along with him by the same party.

At present the province is quiet. The people are more concerned with the food-problem and its solution.

Besides those convicted in the railway sabotage case, action as detailed below has been taken against

persons engaged in subversive and anti-war activities.

1. Externed from certain areas of the province.. 18
2. Detained in jail under Rule 26 and 129 of DIR 248
3. Movements and activities restrained within particular areas. .. 11
4. Convicted in connection with the C.D. Movement ..683

198

Intelligence Report on Activities of Congress Socialist Party in Bihar

F.28/Cong./42-B.5 June 28, 1943

(Intelligence Bureau secret extract from Bihar Special Branch Political Situation Report (Weekly) dated 28.6.43).

Provided with identifiers from British territory the Nepal authorities surrounded and searched suspected C.S.P. hiding places in the Tarai. They found no important leaders present but collected a large quantity of interesting documents showing Congress or C.S.P. connection with various parts of India. In a village near Hanumannagar, Nepal officials had previously discovered a large collection of books, a typewriter, circulars etc. These included a typewritten appeal by Jai Prakash Narayan "to American brothers", a Hindi circular by Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, instructions for the use of explosives in destroying communications, and two silver "Gandhi rupees"; there was apparently evidence also of musketry practice in the neighbourhood and of the consumption of about four maunds or rice daily by volunteers. Swami Parmananda Saraswati, mentioned in a Nepal report as he (Mahanth of Chatra Math, one of the places searched) may be identical with an important absconder in the Maulania dacoity which occurred in Champaran in June 1929. The documents are belived to be under examination at Khatmandu.

Meanwhile a number of individuals suspected to be C.S.P. "trainees" were collected in Bihar. On June 13 the Katihar (Purnea) police found two suspicious

strangers near a landing ground, and arrested them after a struggle. They had in their possession a .455 Webly revolver, a dagger, and a Mills grenade. Though they gave false names and addresses, they appeared to be Narsingh Narain Singh, a leading absconder in the Rupauli murder case, and another absconder named Narsingh Mandal. There is reason to belive that they fled from Nepal after the Hanumannagar incident.

Baijnath Jha (or Missir) was apparently one of the seven prisoners rescued in the Hanumannagar raid. He is an old revolutionary suspect of Darbhanga district absconding since August 1942. He was arrested at Samastipur on June 20. The same day a police raid in Madhubani results in the capture of Ajodhya Lal Das of Rajauli - one of the absconders shown in the "Nepal List".

In the early hours of June 23, a strong Saran police force with C.I.D. assistance made a most successful raid near the village of Katalpur. In this operation, and the ensuing pursuits, a total of 25 suspects was bagged, including the 7 most notorious absconders of the district. The latter included the Congress "dictator", the C.S.P. secretary and other dangerous saboteurs and political criminals, three at least of whom are believed to have attended Jai Prakash Narain's training camps. At Siwan in the same district, a printed Hindi "oath of allegiance" form was found; this seemed to be the one prescribed for the C.S.P. Azad Dasta, and probably was brought back from one of the Nepal training camps.

In Muzaffarpur, with the assistance of a military officer, three absconders were arrested. One was the district C.S.P. "dictator"; another was accused in the August 1942 Sitamarhi court raid case.

Bhagalpur reports suggested the formation of "suicide squads" in that district. Local members of the C.S.P. were convinced that Gandhi would stage another fast early in August; in anticipation, Jai Prakash's followers were preparing for renewed sabotage and lawlessness. Muzaffarpur information from socialist sources indicated the opening in Bihar of four guerilla training centres.

———— ⁘ ————

199

Army Officer in League with Rebels

F.28/Cong./42-B.5 June 29, 1943

(Extract from U.P. C.I.D.'s brief note on subversive activity for the fortnight ending June 21, 1943 received with Central Intelligence Officer U.P. & Ajmer, Camp, Nainital No.L-3/A.G/43 dated 29th June, 1943.)

Once again the province has been entirely immune from sabotage and terrorism organised by Congress rebels. The arrest of absconders proceeds satisfactorily, but many of the bigger men continue to evade the police. A further step in the clearning up of the Benares organising centre was taken when P. Narayan of the Kashi Vidyapith was arrested in Lucknow, and development of the Lucknow Cawnpore Link with Bombay was further checked by the arrest of the student Venky. On the other hand interrogation of Ram Charan Pande in Allahabad shows that there was another direct link between that city and the "Central Directorate" in Bombay. It appears that the cells created in Benares, Allahabad and Lucknow-Cawnpore had not established contact with each other but that they were endeavouring to do so when their existence was discovered and police arrests and searches broke them up. The number of leaflets appearing in the province has very greatly decreased, no doubt largely due to the same action.

In a statement which P. Narayan made it was alleged that Jai Prakash Narain, Ram Manohar Lohia and Baba Raghav Das were arrested in the Nepal Terai but subsequently rescued. This story is corroborated by a report from Bihar, but it is not absolutely established that these three leaders were actually in the party of rebels concerned. There is no trace of Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidyapith but it transpires that an army officer in the U.P. has been assisting him in his R.S.P. activities, and knew of the existence of the Wireless Transmitter in the Congress Office in Benares. That transmitter has been examined by experts and proves to be a set of considerable power and lacking only an amplifier and an aerial. It had not however been constructed by experts.

The information as to any army officer's participation in rebel activity is interesting in view of a lengthy

and detailed statement made in Delhi by one Asoka Kumar Dutt, which discloses a grandiose scheme of Jai Prakash Narain to train rebels on military lines, secure the assistance of army officers and men, and stage a concerted outbreak at some later date, the main features of which were to be the cutting off of Delhi from the outside world, the staging of armed risings in other parts of India, and the slaughter of British troops and officers. A military officer was closely associated with this scheme and Dutt's gang, and a list of army officers and men who had promised to assist is alleged to have been prepared. Much of the many paper schemes drawn up and circulated by the rebels is imaginative bombast and it is impossible to say what, if any, progress has been made in implementing such a scheme as this of J.P. Narain's.

———— ·X· ————

200

Translation of an Oriya Letter from Trilochan Senapati, Orissa Leader, to Smt. Jamini Mukherji

F.28/Cong/42-0 July 2, 1943

My dear Jamini,

After a long time I am getting an opportunity today to write to you. On receipt of your letter I went at the time of the 'festival' one day at about 8 P.M. I went to you when compelled by Mahendra although I was not inclined to go at night and called you at your door. The door was bolted from inside. You responded but you were chatting with some one. When you did not open the door, I came back to the temple along with Mahendra and returned the same night to Balasore on account of urgent works.Since then there was no opportunity to meet you. During the last 5 months there has been no correspondence between you and me. I mention below the reasons why I am indifferent to you now-a-days:-

Since last March there is a warrant for my arrest. Had I been arrested, I would have been now in jail. But he (you must have known Naba Krushna Chowdhury) has placed the charge of the entire movement in Orissa on me. So I had to remain outside throwing dust in the eyes of Government. Now the Government has declared a

reward of Rs.50/- for my arrest and has widely circulated the warrant all over India. But it won't be easy to arrest me. My whereabouts are not known to anyone. If I am here today, tomorrow I shall be elsewhere but I am now 'somewhere in Orissa'. I have to go outside Orissa twice a month for the sake of finance and other matters. How can I write to you from all these places? Wherever I stay, I keep myself confined to a room and get the work done by others. The fate of the whole of Orissa now rests on me. So I shall have to remain like this. This is more difficult than the jail life. I had not gone home for 5 months and nobody knows where I am. I was here and in the meantime I am aware that my younger brother Kailash has been married. I am quite ignorant of this. It was however expected since there had been a lot of trouble at my home this year regarding my marriage. My marriage was settled in a very rich family and a lumpsum dowry was expected. But I objected to it and was eventually compelled to disclose that I shall not marry anyone except you. There was an objection to it on the ground of caste. Then I had to say that I had no caste distinction. I shall not marry anywhere else and rather I shall remain unmarried. At this my parents and relations abused me and they remarked that education makes the youths not to obey the words of parents but to be self-guiding. There are a lot of facts and it is impossible to pen them here. If I get a chance to meet, I shall narrate everything. You should not mind these things. Our marriage must take place next year. I may rather give up society (kith and kin) and everything. My property cannot be inherited by any one else. The only difficulty is that I shall have to live separate. Let it be, what do I care? Let the world know "What is the meaning of true love". Don't worry, you should not mind these things. I know that these facts will upset you. Still I request you for my sake not to get worried. What is good of getting worried unnecessarily. This is the goal of the world. You know what we the educated society of our age are going to do. Once, Narendra Babu, the manager of Gopinath temple, Remuna, was telling me that you had spoken to your father not to marry anyone except me. So your father sent Narendra Babu to me. I told him to go once but just after that my fate has become so. I was therefore unable to go. The replies of both of us to our parents are similar. We will show the world a new way. All shall support us

in the long run in this progressive age. What is the trouble then? I have so to say left home. This is going on my 'revolutionary life' if I can build it up in the right way, I think I can be a man. Educational qualification is not of too much importance in the world. If a man makes use of his education already acquired in a befitting manner, then he achieves progress rapidly. You can follow this if you would have read the life history of Hitler, Stalin, etc. They are "not even a matriculates". Hitler has written at one place in his biography that had he had a higher education, he would not have been so great because he had tried to think after acquiring some education how he would improve in his life. He is now fighting against the whole world and who does not know his name today? Stalin is also the same. Rabindranath Tagore (who is the author of 'Post Master') only read up to class IX of matriculation. How could he be a world renowned poet? That is of course his God-gifted talent but we can certainly have something if we endeavour. Those who have become great in their lives have had to undergo a series of difficulties. I am now having that. Your life should be similar. You must have heard the name of Malati Devi of Orissa. How has she prepared a revolutionary life and who does not know her now in Orissa? She is the wife of Naba Krushna Chowdhury. Have you heard the history of their marriage? Naba Babu is Oriya and Malati Devi is a Bengalee. Both of them were students in the B.A. class in Santi-niketan. There they had love. At last they got married and joined politics. Now they are the renowned leaders in Orissa. I hope your life should be in the model of Malati Devi. I have joined politics and you have no other alternative than to join it. I hope you will agree with me and I shall get your cooperation. Thus we can prepare our lives in the right way from the time of our marriage. You should not disbelive the bearer of this letter. Send a reply per bearer who will deliver it to me at my destination. I am enclosing a blank envelope in which you can send the reply and the bearer cannot read. Don't make use of my name either on the letter or on the envelope because the bearer will have difficulty in carrying it to me.
I wrote my ideas. You should let me know your ideas. On receipt of your letter I shall try to meet you although it is impossible on my part to go to Balasore. Convey my regards to your father and my love to Laxmi.

With love I am bidding you good-bye. I am ever waiting for your answer.

I am yours
Sd/- T.Senapati

I am mentioning below a quotation of Jawaharlal. Get it by heart and work accordingly.

"Don't think about the past because the past is past. We must think about the present to make our future great and sublime."

He has written it to his daughter in the book entitled "Glimpses of World History".

———— ⁂ ————

201

Robinson of C.I.D. Punjab to J.S.M. Shattock, First Assistant to the Resident, Kashmir, Srinagar, regarding situation in Jammu

F.28/Cong/42(D)-V.E. July 20, 1943

Secret No.Sec.1128-S.B.
CENTRAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT, PUNJAB
Dated Lahore, the 20th/21st July, 1943.

My dear

I forward herewith a copy of a statement made by Balram Bhasin of Jammu, a student, who was recently arrested under rule 129 D.O.I.R. and has been held for interrogation.

Before dealing with the statement I would like to mention to you that we have been having considerable trouble since the start of the Civil Disobedience Movement owing to outside interference in underground and subversive activities in this Province and the direct of our secret revolutionaries by selected men of the Congress High Command. We have dealt with a number of these Congress envoys satisfactorily and put them away under rule 26 D.O.I.R. but as soon as one is arrested another pops up. One of these emissaries is A.N. Kapur mentioned in this statement whom we have

now lost sight of, but belive has been hounded out of this province; but unfortunately the possibilities of his return cannot be everlooked. Further, during our round up of secret workers last winter we got wind of arms-running or rather plans for arms-running from Jammu into the Punjab and the handing on of these arms to the Unitrd Provinces. We have traced the movement of some arms between the Frontier and the United Provinces and have intercepted some arms en route, but so far we have not heard of any arms being moved out of Jammu, although we learnt from the interrogation of Jaswant Singh of the Khaddar Bhandar and others that he had been in touch with Balram and that Balram had promised to supply him with arms. It was for this reason that we arrested Balram in order to interrogate him when we learnt of his presence in Lahore. Luckily this time this interrogation has given us much more than we expected, put us on to Kapur and has supplied interesting details of what underground workers in Jammu are up to.

We have known for some time that the Congress High Command is despondent over the sabotage movement and had decided that sabotage activities should be suspended throughout the summer and that only preparations for sabotage, the collection of equipment and the selection of targets should be undertaken until some sensational development took place which was likely to arouse the country-side as Hindu India was aroused when M.Gandhi and the Congress leaders were arrested on August the 9th last. We are still waiting for this sensational development, but of course, we cannot say that we know all the plans that have been laid during the recent months of apparent quietness by supporters of the Congress and nor do we know what equipment the sabotage rings have collected.

In view, therefore, of the disclosures made by Balram showing that he and his associates were not ignorant of the general Congress Plan I was directed to request that you do whatever you can to ensure that this Jammu gang of Congress supporters and embryo terrorists are straffed and so dealt with that in the event of a revival of a Civil Disobedience Movement they will be out of arms way.

A great deal of trouble has been spent in interrogating Balram and my personal opinion is that, with the possible exception of his alleged interview with Aruna

Asaf Ali and Abdul Qayyum Khan's agreement to join in the arms-running racket this statement, by and large, gives a fairly accurate picture of recent Jammu activities. The most important of the Jammu workers is no doubt Ajudhia Nath Vaid but many others also appear to need close Police attention if not interrogation and either detention or restriction, for instance:-

1. Ram Kishan Jotshi.
2. Gopal Dutt Mengi
3. Bodh Raj Mahajan
4. Ram Das Chemist
5. Dr.Durga Das
6. Mohd. Shafi
7. Dr.Siri Ram
8. Om Parkash Saraf, s/o of the editor of the 'Ranbir'
9. Indu Bhushan Vakil
10. Prem Dutt
11. Narindar Nath
12. Balkishan nanda
13. Baldev Singh
14. Satindar Nath Vaid

Until action is taken to break up this ring of Jammu workers I would be grateful if you will keep the disclosures in the statement as secret as possible, but, of course, we realise that it will be impossible for action to be taken without the statement being made available to several persons. However, as we wish to take action ourselves on certain disclosures made in this statement relating to persons resident in Lahore and elsewhere I will be grateful if you will try to ensure that only very reliable persons see this statement. I suppose it will be essential for you to pass on this statement to I.G. Kashmir. To this, of course, there is no objection provided as discreet use as possible is made of the statement. Mere extracts from this statement relating to Kashmir alone would not give you a proper idea of what had been happening, but if after discussing with I.G. Kashmir you find that only such extracts are sufficient for executive action to be taken, I would be grateful if you would have only such portions of the statement reproduced as this would ensure that any action we may intend taking in the future is not compromised.

Luckily through the obvious distrust of Balram for Kapur and of one worker for another in Jammu no really

serious development seem to have taken place yet, but nevertheless we do feel that a clean sweep of all these workers is advisable and anything that you can do in this direction will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- W.D. Robinson

J.B.H. Shattock Esquire, M.B.E., ICS
First Assistant to the Resident, Kashmir
Srinagar

———— ·X· ————

202
Arrest of Trilochan Senapati

F.28/Cong/42-A-III August 16, 1943

(Extract from C.I.O. Calcutta Fortnightly Report on Political Situation in Orissa dated, 1st half of August 1943).

Another blow has been dealt to the Congress underground organisation by the arrest of Trilochan Senapati in Cuttack town on 30.7.43 and several of his confederates, numbering about 45, in Ganjam, Cuttack and Balasore districts. A large quantity of objectionable literature, including several printed and cyclostyled bulletins inciting to violence and lawlessness and urging people to resume subversive activities, were found and seized. These finds exposed the secret organisation and its members and enabled the local S.B. to take prompt action.

———— ·X· ————

203
Activities of Baba Raghava Das in U.P.

F.28/Cong/42-E August 26, 1943

A statement of Dr.Swami Nath Singh of Gorakhpur reveals that at Benares Sardar Singh Mehnat, Manager of the silk and cotton mill was doing a lot for the Congress Movement together with Professor Chander Shekhar Asthana. The in-charge of the movement at Benares

was Damodar Das Shah while S.K. Basu arranged printing etc. Baba Raghav Das the in-charge throughout the province. He also revealed that before the end of January 1943, 12 men of Ghazipur and Sultanpur were trained at Mughal Sarai - how to spoil an engine by damaging .some parts near the boiler. The arrangements were made by Khan Chand Gautam whom I saw with several bundles of notes and he said there was no shortage of money for Congress work. Later on I came to know that Sri Parkasa was accusing him for embezzling several thousands of rupees belonging to Congress funds. I do not believe Sri Parkasa and he and other type of Congress workers did not like the spirit of young men. He only wishes to help staunch non-violent Congress workers.

There is also a reference to the starting of a hand-made paper karyalay in Gorakhpur by Baba Raghava Das.

Another letter from R.Powell, Police Assistant to Resident, Rajputana to rai Bahadur Dewan Chand, I.G. of Bikaner State requests him to verify the report regarding the visit of Baba Raghava Das to Jodhpur State in the last week of January 1943 at the request of Hanuman Parshad Poddar, Editor of the paper 'Kalyan' published from Gorakhpur and a wealthy resident of Jodhpur State. Police report dated 7.5.1943 reported the arrest of Biswa Nath Sharma, reputed associate of Jai Prakash.

Ram Deo Singh alias Ram Deo alias Bhulan alias Bhullu of Benares who was working as a Secretary to Baba Raghava Das has been arrested.

———— ·X· ————

204

G.L.Mehta's Contacts with Underground C.S.P. Rebels: Involvement of Humayan Kabir

F.28/Cong/42-A-III

September 4, 1943

(Copy of D.O. letter dated 4.9.43 from M.L. Bhattacharya, Central Intelligence Office, 9/1, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta, to J.W. Purdy, I.P., Spl. Supdt. of Police, I.B., C.I.D., Calcutta.)

Please refer to the statement of J.P. 346 dated

1.9.43 forwarded under your Memo. No. CS7015(2)J.P. 346 Actn dated 2.9.43, regarding Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's present itinerary mentioned in para 1, and about one Desai referred to in para 2 of the statement.

This Desai strikes me as being almost certainly identical with S.J. Desai, Secretary to Gaganbehari Lal Mehta of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce. Desai's office is located at No.102A Clive Street, Calcutta. Gaganbeharilal Mehta has been in close touch with Mrs.Aruna Asaf Ali in Delhi and Bombay. In December last G.L.Mehta is reported to have met Mrs.Aruna Asaf Ali at Bombay (please see C.B.Is dated 5.12.43) and brought from her the new AICC direction purporting to be the fresh line of action for the second phase of the Congress movement. The leaflet was entitled "The Freedom Struggle Front".

While G.L.Mehta was establishing contacts with the underground C.S.P. rebels, his Secretary S.J. Desai had been running the Sufferers' Relief Committee, which meant ostensibly to help political sufferers but had really been subsidising Congress rebels in Bengal.

Another man named Y.Menon of the Indian Chamber of Commerce was also one of the bunch taking a keen interest in the C.S.P. section-'the front rank rebels of the Congress movement.

The report of J.P. 346 is highly interesting and gives us a fresh avenue for a drive. The two paragraphs are closely interconnected as we are already in the know of Humayun Kabir's role in the C.S.P. conspiracy.

I would therefore submit that instead of concentrating on the Kabirs alone, we had better spread the net a bit wide. Past experiences have shown that bigger circles and houses of prominent men afford better and safer sanctuary for absconders.

———— ·X· ————

205

Role of Ananda Prasad Chowdhury and Others

F.28/Cong./42-A-III September 15, 1943

A report from Sylhet District dated 15.9.43 refers to a number of cases of breaking of telephone wires

along with the Badanpur-Karimganj Line and bamboo poles have also been found lying across the railway line near Moghla Bazar station on the Sylhet-Fenchuganj line. 50 per cent of the neighbouring villages have been made sub-constables and the villagers have been warned.

C.S.P. according to a report has decided at a meeting held at the house of Sham Lal on 11-9-43 that the party members should not take part in food relief organisation because they believe that more the suffering of the people. the greater will be their discontent against the Government. The students workers of the party have formed a committee to counteract the C.P.I. influence among the students. The students are the representatives from various colleges.

According to secret information Annanda prasad Chowdhury played an important part in 1942 movement and it was he who arranged a meeting between J.P.Narain and the Midnapur workers. Their names were said to be S.C. Bera, A.K. Bera, P.C.Das, Sashibusan Samanta of Tamluk besides others.

206

Arrest of Atulya Ghose

F.28/Cong/43-A-III October 31, 1943

(Extract from the C.I.O. fortnightly Report on Political Situation in Bengal for the 2nd half of October 1943.)

In Midnapore the Congress movement still lingers though much curbed. Only one case of dacoity was reported and a daffadar who was suspected of supplying information about absconding Congress rebels has been kidnapped. Another important absconding Congress rebel leader named Atulya Ghose of Hooghly has since been arrested. Absconder Ananda Prasad Chowdhury and his "Do or Die" bunch have continued in illegal leafleteering preaching anti-British sentiments and inciting the people to rise against the established authority of the land and form their own Swaraj Punchayets and

Volunteer Corps. (Satyagrahi Volume 1. No. 11 dated 4.10.43.)

———— ·X· ————

207

London Times on the Intensity of the Movement

F.24/Cong/42-VIII November 12, 1943

The Dawn in its issue of 12.11.43 quoted the London Times in which the following extracts occurred:

"The demonstrations have been widespread but perhaps less widespread than had been feared. The Punjab, Sindh, the North West Frontier and Assam have been Scarcely affected and in all the great tract of India ruled by the Princes, only Mysore and Baroda have produced incidents. In both these States the Congress influence is strong.... It may be taken for granted that Gandhi's use of the words upon rebellion with reference to his impending movement probably exercised a great deal of influence on the character of the demonstrations. There is evidence that in the country districts particularly many people took these words literally. Some leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other left wing members of the Working Committee put the impending mass movement upon the plane of revolt. They warned their audience that it be necessary for them to face bullets and bombs which was as much as to say that they were to create a situation that could be dealt with only by bullets and bombs. These orators particulatly addressed themselves to students who were not particular about their methods and were joined by all these elements which favoured political violence as an opportunity for loot."

———— ·X· ————

208

Kiran Shankar Roy's Misgivings

F.28/Cong/43-A-III November 23, 1943

(Extract from Congress and the Economic Situation, received with C.I.O. Calcutta No.C.B.4, dated 23rd Nov. 1943).

Kiran Shankar Roy after returning from his Dacca and Mymensingh tour on 20.11.43 met some of the members of the Official Congress at his house. He expressed grave concern at the efforts lately made by Annada Prasad Chodhury to exploit Congress. According to him Annada Chowdhury, who recently returned from Bombay had directed Jnananjan Neogy and Humayun Kabir to arrange for an informal conference of Congressmen on 18.11.43. Benode Behari Das (recently released) of Pabna, who had come to Calcutta in the hope of receiving funds from the Mayor's Fund for relief work was persuaded by Jnananjan Neogy to agree to discuss the situation, especially with regard to the rice purchase policy of the Government. Benode Das's room was utilised for the purpose and among others Anil Banerji of Dacca, Kamal Krishna Roy of Bankura, Prahlad Pramanik of Tamluk, Monmohan Bhattacharji, Naren Sen, Humayun Kabir and Jnananjan Neogy were present. Kabir and Neogy then told them that with their past experience they should be able to prevent cultivators from parting with paddy and rice and that a movement with this object should forthwith be launched.

Kiran Shankar Roy said that this section intended to publish a leaflet in the name of the B.P.C.C. and then launch a movement. Funds would be raised from the public generally and the up-country sympathisers of Congress in particular. He considered Jnananjan Neogy and Humayun Kabir to be fifth- columnists out to sabotage Congress on behalf of the Khadi group.

C.S.P. Activities in Bengal

According to a C.I.D. Report the C.S.P. organisation in Bengal has continued its conspiratorial planning to help the growth of fifth column activities and propagate pro-Subhash feelings. Prominent figures in the show are Dr.Mrs.Maitreya Bose, Humayun Kabir, Sham

Lal Khatri and others. They also distribute the copies of Jai Prakash's second letter and do propaganda work.

———— ·X· ————

209

Subversive Organisations' Contact with Indian Troops

F.28/Cong/43-A-III November 25, 1943

(Copy of D.O. letter No. 28/Cong/43-A-III dated 25 November, 1943, from G.Ahmed , Intelligence Bureau (Home Department), Government of India, New Delhi, to E.T.D. Lambert, I.P., Intelligence Officer, Shillong.)

I enclose herewith a note summarizing the information on record in the Bureau concerning the alleged attempts of various subversive organisations to contact Indian troops on the Eastern Frontier with a view to causing disaffection amongst the Indian Army. The sources from which this information emanates have been indicated in the margin of the summary.

2. The story related in paragraphs 1-3 of the summary is derived from the statement of a young Bengali student, who was arrested in Delhi in March last for having participated in the Congress underground movement. Dutt was described as a rather fanatical type of youth, with a vivid imagination, who was inclined to talk "big"; but the opinion was expressed that his disclosures could not be summarily dismissed as lies. Up to date, however, we have received no corrboration of the story and the identity of the two persons mentioned by him has not so far been established.

3. You will see that the information contained in the summary is scrappy which makes it impossible to build up a clear picture from the disjointed reports that we have hitherto received. The subject, however, is one of paramount importance and I shall be glad if you will let me know whether you can supplement the summary in any way from information in your or the provincial Special Branch's possession. Will you please also let me have your considered appreciation of the extent to which attempts to subvert the Army

are being made in your jurisdiction and the individuals or organisations responsible for making such attempts? An early reply is requested.

———— ·X· ————

210
Unrest In Tamluk

F.28/Cong/43-A-III December 7, 1943

There is also an Intelligence Report dated December 7, 1943 that in the Tamluk Sub-Division of Midnapur there have been many complaints of kidnapping, murder and extortion by the gang of saboteurs who had become professional criminals. Kiran Shankar Roy called a meeting to discuss ways and means of counteracting Annada Chowdhury Satyagraha Council. He thinks that effective propaganda in the name of the Congress disowning the Satyagraha Council should be launched.

Ram Babu observed on 28.11 that the arrest of Bhiren Datta of Ballygunge was no loss to the party because Dhiren was a member of the C.S.P. like Humayun Kabir and N.Datta Mazumdar. They all tried to exploit the party as they incited its workers to carry on terrorist activities at the time of the C.S.P. was active in Bengal. Both Dhiren Datta and Humayun possessed electrical transmitters which they promised to give to Ram Babu provided the party carried on communication with Japan immediately and started rebellion in the country. To this the party did not agree and asked them to wait till the Japanese invasion. Kabir and Datta did not accept the proposal and so did not part with the apparatus.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix I

Instructions of AICC to All P.C.C.s Regarding Movement

With the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi every man and woman in India is his successor. Victory or death should be the motto of every son and daughter of India. If we live we live as free men, if we die we die as free men. There can be no rest for us so long as Gandhiji is in jail.

This is our final struggle. If all do their duty the struggle should finish in two months' time. All classes of men are called upon to join the fight. Millions have to move and break the chains that bind India. The struggle will include all activities that a non-violent mass struggle can include. Let our struggle gather momentum from day to day till it becomes an irresistible force and we regain our precious heritage. Let us be true to the message which Gandhiji has left us, "Do or Die".

Here are some instructions for all our countrymen.

(1) There shall be a hartal throughout the country, in all the cities and villages of India. The hartal will be peaceful. The hartal will be the country's protest against the arrest of Gandhiji, Congress President and members of the Working Committee. It will also be a symbol of our determination to carry on the struggle, which started with the arrest of Gandhiji, to its successful conclusion. If participation in a hartal carries with it any penalties they should be cheerfully borne.

There will be meetings in the evenings in villages and cities where we shall deliver the Congress message "Quit India". If there are bans on the meetings they should be resisted.

(2) Salt is a prime necessity of our life. Our countrymen should consider themselves free to manufacture it wherever they can do so whether in coastal or inland areas. Laws prohibiting the manufacture should be resisted and all consequences taken.

(3) Our struggle is 'non-violent non-cooperation' on the widest possible scale. The teeming millions that inhabit the 700000 villages form the backbone of our struggle. They have the biggest and most vital

part to play. Let them withhold all cooperation from the alien administration that has reduced them to servitude and abject poverty. Let them, when the time comes, withhold payment of all revenue to the Government. Where there is zamindari system the zamindar may be given his share of the revenue provided he throws in his lot with the people and refuses all cooperation with the Government.

(4) The students are the vanguard of our struggle. It is their solemn and sacred task to rouse and awaken and vitablise the dumb millions from one end of the country to the other. It is unthinkable that they can be passive spectators of the grand fight for freedom that is going on about them. Let students above sixteen leave the colleges and Universities, and conduct the non-violent struggle to its victorious conclusion. They are the intelligentsia of the country and know full well how our Leader wants them to act. Our leaders have been arrested. The few that remain will soon be clapped if worse does not befall them. Students alone can fittingly supply the gap. There is no doubt they will prove worthy of the great call that has come to them.

(5) The members of the Government services are faced with a choice. In this titanic clash between the people and the alien Government what is their place? Must they, is it part of their duty to suppress, to betray their people? Must they earn their livelihood by betraying their country at a time when it is engaged in a mortal and deadly struggle? Do they like to win the blessings of the present and future generations of their curses? The days of the administration which is giving them their bread and butter are now numbered. Why lean on a broken reed? If those who do not have strength to resign their jobs have at least the courage to say 'no' to all orders that are designed to suppress and crush our people. If the saying 'No' involves dismissal let it be cheerfully courted. Every such dismissal will be a nail in the coffin of the empire that is throttling us.

(6) As Gandhiji said let every India soldier in the army consider himself a Congressman. If his officer issues orders which hurt his conscience as a Congressman let him disobey them and take the consequences cheerfully. It can be no part of their duty to lathi-charge, tear-gas, or shoot non-violent crowds, peace-

ful processions or meetings. India hopefully looks to them to play their worthy part in the great struggle. The fellow soldiers in other lands fraternised with the people when they rose in revolt against misrule and oppressions whether indigenous or foreign. Let our Indian soldiers follow their glorious example.

(7) The Indian States are a part and parcel of India. The struggle of today is as much theirs as of the so-called British India. Gandhiji at the AICC issued an appeal to the princes to make common cause with the Indian people and throw off the common yoke. Whatever the response of the princes to Gandhiji's appeal let our brothers in Indian states make the struggle their own. Their fight today is not with the princes but with the alien master who is keeping them and the people in subjection. If the princes side with the alien master, it will be the painful duty of the people to wage a struggle against a combination of the princes and the alien master.

(8) Gandhiji has time and again stressed the vital and decisive part that our women-folk can play in the non-violent struggle. It is for them to justify Gandhi-ji's faith in them. If they bring to the struggle the non-violent sacrifice and suffering of which they are capable our struggle will inevitably be short and swift. Let us fall to them to rouse and energise the people of India at the fateful period in her history.

(9) Let every man and woman in the country carry on his person a badge bearing the motto 'Do or Die . This will proclaim our determination to be free or perish in the attempt to be free.

(10) This is a struggle in which all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians have to participate. Freedom s struggle knows no communal or racial distinc-tions. If there must be competition between commu-nities let it be one in sacrifice and suffering for the great cause.

(11) Ending of foreign rule is our objective. What-ever helps in the attainment of that objective is sub-ject to the inexorable condition of non-violence, per-missible and legitimate, people in the provinces have to devise and adopt all non-violent ways of paralysing the administration. Every man is his guide and leader. All provinces have full provincial autonomy in the

matter of carrying on the struggle. Let them remain true to non-violence and all will be well with the struggle. There is no place for fear in the struggle. It should be banished from our minds and hearts. Each one of us should feel and assert that he is a free man. Suffering, that comes always as a consequence of this assertion and our action on it, shall be cheerfully borne. Our leaders have done their part, it is for those who are left out to do theirs. The burden of carrying on the struggle falls on them. Let them carry their burden worthly.

(12) Last but not least let us not forget 'spinning' so dear to Gandhiji. If millions spin it will administer a powerful stimulus to the struggle.

"DO OR DIE"

———— ·X· ————

Appendix II

Instructions of AICC to P.C.Cs and People

Our chief task is to keep the enthusiasm witnessed in urban India on the day of the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders and to organise it along positive lines and, at the same time, to work up rural India to a similar pitch of activity with a view to make the culminating point of our struggle simultaneous in all the country. The essential consideration is time. Not only that we have to show what we are worth within two or four weeks, for else, Gandhiji might resort to a fast but that our rural and urban movement should be no coordinated and timed together that the Government may not already have crushed the one before the other is ready to meet with the same fate.

RURAL INDIA:

The village population should be encouraged to declare at public meetings and elsewhere that they are free and that the laws, taxation and police and other arrangements of a foreign government no longer bind them. The beginning of such meetings may be made in the smallest units, say a village, but the activity must soon develop into freedom and fraternity proces-

sions marching from one village to another. All this is intended to lead to the bigger meeting of, any 10 and 20 villages, where the declaration of freedom and unity is reiterated. Nevertheless this propagandist and agitational activity must be given a positive programme and definitive direction, or else, it will fizzle out. Such a positive direction cannot be one of no-rent or no-tax campaign except as agitation, for the month for rent collection is yet far off. Nor can it be merely of educative agitation in respect of food-shortage, currency inflation, price control and the like. All this must be done, together with the declaration of freedom, in order to rouse the people. Once the people are roused, and even while they are roused, their energy must be given a definite task. In the present circumstances, this can be nothing else than the non-violent raids of thousands of people on the symbols and centres of British authority, the Thanas and the Tahsils. These must be put out of action. The police and other government servants should be invited, in the first instance, to accept the authority of the people or, in their refusal to do so, should be dispossessed both of their weapons and their governmental positions. It is essential to remember: 1. That such raids should take place in the best awakened and organised two or three tehsils of and one district and care should be taken not to select such areas in which there is friction of any kind. 2. That not only must these raids be timed together in the same district but throughout the province, or, atleast, in the majority of the districts where the Congress message has reached best. The culminating point of these raids will be reached when the spontaneously awakened but organised energies of the people in their thousands raid the district headquarter. The government machinery will then not only be paralysed, but shattered. Either at this moment, or in the process while this is being done, a parallel authority of the people will be formed. This will be the beginning of the Free Indian state. It is also necessary to remember that effort should be made to time together, as far as possible, the paralysis of the existing government machinery in all the provinces. The climax of this paralysis should be designed to reach four weeks from now, or a little earlier or a little later. There can, of course, be no rigidity.

It is needless to say that between their declaration of freedom and their attempt to put the existing administrative machinery out of action, the people must have completed their disobedience of all political and other general laws of the government with which we are in disagreement. They must have, for instance, started manufacturing salt at their will, disobeying evacuating and other orders, refusing to appear in law courts.

Certain problems of (1) cadres to organise this work, (2) dislocation of government communication arise. These will be treated separately. Moreover, all attempts at violence must be seriously discountenanced and his problem be treated more throughly in the examination of our relations with government servants.

The instructions in succession, therefore, are:

(1) Get every one of our 7 lakhs villages to organise meetings of declaration of freedom.

(2) Organise freedom and fraternity marches from one village to another.

(3) Disobey government authority and laws specially D.I.R., and engage in positive activity such as formation of people's executives and manufacture of salt and cessation of recruitment and war contributions.

(4) Put thanas and tehsils and, later, district headquarters out of action through non-violence.

(5) Arrange completion of this programme in four weeks or thereabouts. We must, however, be alert and careful that we do not fall behind the temper of the people.

URBAN INDIA:

From reports obtained of happenings in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Calcutta and elsewhere on the day of Gandhiji's arrest, and even later, it is obvious that the people are highly excited. The enormous crowd in Shivaji Park where Gandhiji was to have spoken stood over dozen repeated attempts to tear-gas it. There have been hundreds of lathi charges and quite frequent firings. The people appear to stand all this well but extreme care should be taken (1) to maintain the spirit of resistance (2) to further strengthen it so that, even in the event of firings, a determined band of men and women at any rate should not run away.

The instructions are as follows:

(1) The canalise the spontaneous outbursts of the people, and organised form should be given to it. An authoritative call for a general strike till Gandhiji and other leaders are back among us throughout the country is hereby given and in the first twenty cities of India effect should be to make it complete.

(a) Colleges and universities must close indefinitely till freedom is won and Gandhiji is back among us. The striking students will (1) lead the demonstrative action in the towns or (2) go into the villages to further our fourweek's programme.

(b) All general offices such as wholesale trade, banks and other establishments must close and their clerical personnel brought out. Retail shops with the exception of foods and similar provisions must also be persuaded to close.

(c) Stoppage of work in manufacturing industries such as textiles and engineering should be completed in the course of the indefinite general strike and the workers brought out.

(2) Effort should be made to reach the workers and clerical staff in the transport industry such as railways and docks and in the government agencies such as posts and telegraphs and radio and in the electricity producing and distributing plants, while the general strike in other spheres is maturing. When the culminating point of the general strike is reached any three or four weeks from now, the call to strike should be given to this other category of workers and clerks.

(3) Care should be taken to see that the climax of the movement both in rural and urban India is reached in four weeks from now.

(4) Appropriate appeals should be made to every class of our population, workers in the manufacturing industries, workers in transport and government concerns, clerical staff all round, students, retail dealers through leaflets issued daily, differing in tone and directions in consonance with our needs and the differing situation, and through a meeting and processions. In spite of the serious repressions, there must be daily small meetings and processions in hundreds

and thousands all over the town and bigger demonstrations wherever possible, reiterating the declaration of freedom.

There is pre-eminently the problem of çadres, determined bands of men and women, who will learn our resolution, through its various stages to succeed. Apparently this is an enormous problem and we may flinch it the great task we have set before us and the inadequacy of our organisation. But nowhere was it more true than today that a revolution provides its own leadership. Moreover, the cadres are already there, if only we make use of them. In addition to the thousands of trained Congress workers who cannot all be clapped us in a day, nor even in a fortnight if they choose to work rather than to court arrest, there will be the hundreds of thousands of striking students, workers and clerks particularly students. Upon these we can draw for our rural and urban work according to their talents and taste.

There is also the problem of technical work of our revolution. Two things must be borne in mind. (1) These activities should never be looked upon as independent. They must in every event be subordinate to a mass action. (2) None of our activities should be such as to endanger human life, whether Indian or British, and warnings should always be issued.

Again, how shall we infuse in our people the determination to face firings and yet not to retaliate in kind. In the earlier stages, hundreds will have to be ready to die but, when that is done, the end will not be far off when considerable sections of the military and the police refuse to shoot or when, after the necessary non-violent strength is acquired, the people start disarming the government forces without killing the personnel. The organisation of non-violence is, preminently the question of a thousand or so self-chosen martyrs in all the country.

In this connection, appeals should be made to the military and the police through leaflets and personal approaches and brave encounters in the midst of an awkward situation. Indians among government forces should, in the first instance, be asked to regard themselves as free men and to refuse to submit to foreign authority and to come over to the Indian revolution. If they cannot do this, they should in the second instance, be asked not to shoot at their own defenceless

people fighting for their freedom as much as their own. Appeals not to shoot may also be addressed to British and American soldiers, although the emphasis here will not be a national freedom but on human freedom and peace all over the world.

DO OR DIE

We will die, Great Leader, but
We will also do,
We will free Gandhiji before he fasts
Long live the Free State of India.

Appendix III

Instructions to Congress Workers

F.28/Cong/42-B-III

I

Meant for the active workers only

The Civil war is going on in our province, and whatever has been done is quite satisfactory. The only question before us is to do or die, so we should make this war more stronger and successful. It must be clear from the speeches of Churchill, Amery and other ministers that Britishers are bent on sticking to our country. The question is as to how we can make this war successful? It must be known that the Chinese are fighting the Japanese without efficient material, but the only desire of the Chinese to die for their country is more than sufficient. We should also follow the same spirit of the Chinese and then destroy the British rule in India. There are two ways of doing this. First of all we must persuade the public by non-violent preaching to realize that India is free and they are no longer slaves of the Britishers and they should go to jails. In Russia 7,000 persons sacrifice their lives every day in the war so if we cannot send to jails 1,000 men in six months from every district, then ours is no sacrifice and we do not

deserve freedom. The goddess of freedom wants the blood of Indians and she cannot be pleased unless thousands of us sacrifice our lives. On the 9th and 13th of every month we should take our processions and hold meetings and go to jails. In doing so there is no danger of firing or lathi charges. You should consult the Sanchalak of your district or Commissaire to do any work.

The other way for achieving freedom is by violence. To do this the following things should be done in every district.

1. There must be map of every district which should show the kacha and pacca roads, rly. stn. and the distances. The railway bridges should also be marked on the map. The bridges of which there are guards should also be noted. The aerodromes and Government Stores should also be marked on the maps. The factories where War material are produced should also be marked with a note as to what sort of goods are manufactured there.

2. The electric power house and the telephone office should also be marked on the map.

3. Where are the Post Offices and Police Stations located in the district? How many constables and sub-inspectors are there in the Police Station and how many weapons do they possess and how far are they situated from the District Headquarters?

4. Who possess weapons in the district and what is there total number?

5. It should be enquired how many people and who in the district helps the Government in getting the people arrested either through their selfish motives or with the idea of helping the Britishers.

6. A list should be prepared of the Congress workers who are working underground and their addresses should be noted down and they should be visited off and on.

7. A list should be prepared of the people who can give shelter to our workers at the time of emergency.

8. Those Congress workers against whom there are no serious allegations and who waste their time in seeking shelter should do some work and go to jails. Those who do not want to go to jails.should get permission from the Sanchalak through their District

Sanchalaks. Those people who won't obey the provincial Sanchalaks shall be removed from the Congress and some exemplary action shall be taken against them.

Programme -

As regards the Congress programme many of the workers are of the opinion that they should go on making preparations till the invasion of Japan, and at the time of invasion the British Government should at once be replaced by our own, but we should not be at the mercy of Japan or Germany. For India all the foreign Governments are of the same kind. So every one should come into the field for the achievement of freedom, and should try to crush the enemy. The most important thing to be done is to render war materials useless and to try to check the war efforts. To kill human beings should not be an item of the programme, because by doing so we will not be able to carry out our outlined work. We want to let you know that by cutting down the electric, telegraphic and telephonic wires the Government can be put to great inconvenience, and the loss to the Government is immense. There is great scarcity of electirc wires, so the wires which you cut down should be thrown at such places where they cannot be found.

(2) For such like programme the district Sanchalak should be consulted. The war efforts should be either completely stopped or retarded and the war material must not be allowed to be transported from one place to another.

(3) You must be knowing that the British Government has lost its prestige and has exported all gold, silver and copper to England. Ther is great scarcity of small coins in India. It should be made public that all wheat etc. is being sent for the use of soldiers, so the villagers should be asked, and this propaganda should be done by means of speeches and poster, to store their crops in their homes and refuse to pay land revenues, otherwise their children will die of hunger. If they do not agree,do not let their carts go to the cities.

(4) It will be of great benefit to the cultivators if the Government records are burnt. Cattle are being sent from the villages for the use of the military. This should at once be stopped.

What should a terrorist do?

There is great enthusiasm in the minds of the people and thus the terrorist appeal to them but they should be in the know that in this time there is danger of life as well as they should altogether alter their appearance. This type of class of our workers is known as the Guerilla and they always work on the orders of the High Command and sacrifice their lives cheerfully. They should try to bear all sort of hardships and may bear the pangs of starvation of occasion so arises. They should wear very simple dresses and should keep themselves underground. Such workers are being hunted by Police so while travelling they should not perform such acts which might lead to their recognition by the Police, and might disclose the secret of their programmes to the Police. Such workers should be in the know of all such workers and should not disclose their secrets to any one as is done in the armies. First of all they should have a full knowledge of the place where they have to do something. The way to escape should also be carefully seen so that after doing a certain act of terrorism they may escape by that way. They should be very active and smart so that the police may not catch them. Wherever an attack is to be made, it should be secretly ascertained whether there is any such man who may give shelter. If there is none they should try to make such friends.

Note: If further instructions are required these can be given orally as every thing cannot be brought in writing.

Sanchalak
U.P. National War Party.

II

The war of freedom may last longer.

Inqalab and Independence of our country Zindabad.

The present war into which we were forced by the British Government four months back on the 9th day of August can never be ended until complete independence is achieved. Its proof is before us. The worshippers of Independence belonging to the provinces

of Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra etc. have troubled the Government by fighting in the manner of Guerillas in the same way as the Chinese have done to the Japanese.

In November last this cruel Government had to face a loss of ammunition worth crores of rupees. Many goods trains were derailed in U.P. while hundreds of Government buldings were set on fire. In Orissa the public fought face to face with the Government. In spite of all this the Government is not giving out the real facts to the public and to do this she has put restrictions on the newspapers. We cannot ignore the fact that Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the country are behind bars and their lives are in danger. We also cannot ignore the fact that all the district jails of the country are filled with those people who are desirous of achieving independence and their lives are at the mercy of a cruel Government. It also cannot be ignored that through the tommy soldiers who are living in India, thousands of our children, aged persons and women were shot dead. It is all due to the decision made on the 9th August.

On the 9th day of every month we are reminded of the happenings of the 9th August and are shocked to see ourselves entangled in the chains of slavery. We are sure that this fire which has been lit by us will certainly reduce the British Government to ashes. We are dead certain that this Government will meet the same fate which was met by Rawan, Kans, Bezid and Jamrud.

Wake up the brave men of the country and take full revenge from this cruel Government. Do not join the army and if your poverty compels you to do so, you should by joining the army take full revenge from Government and always put obstacles in the works of the Government and continue the practice of derailing the goods trains cutting the wires, setting on fire the Government buildings and destroying all the material prepared for war purposes.

The students should leave going to the schools and colleges and should engage themselves in such works by which the Government may be destroyed.

The Prabhat Pheries, taking out of processions, holding of meetings and the performance of flag salutation ceremonies should be repeated on the 9th of every

month, so that the public may not be disappointed. We should not be afraid of being arrested. Otherwise the public will not accompany us and it will become impossible to continue this war. We should not forget at the same time that non-violence is our creed. Hitlerism and democracy are enemies. There is no other way excepting the one taught by Mahatma Gandhi by which we can wake up the public to fight. It should also be remembered that Mahatma Gandhi while going to jail delivered his message of Do or die.

Indian Congress Committee
1942.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix IV

Instructions to Congress Dictators in Cities

F.28/Cong/42-C

Translation of a Cyclostyled Leaflet in Hindi
To the Dictators of all the Distts. and Towns
and Chief Workers

Dear Sir,

On receipt of instructions from the All India Congress Committee and after consulting the chief workers of the provinces who are still out of jail I am forwarding to you the scheme which has been chalked out to push vigorously this great revolution for the independence of India by organising ourselves. I hope that all the men of the province, collecting scattered forces and organising themselves, will put up such a strong resistance as to shake the foundations of these 'Ata-taees' (Oppressors) who had captured our country so as to compel them to leave this country.

It is difficult to mention here the courage and dtermination displayed by residents of the U.P. during the last three months. The way in which the public, particularly the students have faced the bullets on their chests, has enhanced the prestige of every Indian.

We can give peace to the souls of the martyrs only when we secure the release of our motherland from the clutches of these tyrants. If we could not do this the sacrifices of our brethren will go in vain.

Before putting the scheme before you it is necessary to review our achievements and difficulties which have been experienced in the first phase of this revolution. Although the public had some notion of our movement yet there was misunderstanding amongst masses about our programme and as to what actually the Congress would like them to do. All know that our object is to snatch power from the hands of these 'Atataees', and to establish a republican type of Government and then to face any power which may attack India. As long as we are not free it is difficult for us to resist any attack on India because a man does not like to sacrifice his life for a thing which he does not think belongs to him. Every Indian thinks that he has to remain a slave and therefore why should he sacrifice his life. The events which took place in Burma are before us. When Indians realise that India belongs to them, they will be infused with a spirit to sacrifice themselves for her protection and Germany or Japan will not dare to attempt to acquire their country. For those reasons we have started the struggle which will not cease short of complete independence of the country. We shall fight this battle to the finish. Either we shall become free or we shall sacrifice ourselves for the sake of our country. We have to bring those Muslims into our fold who are under the wrong impression that they have got noting to do with this struggle. We have to win over those communists who have become a prey to the tricks of the British Government and think that the British Government is helping them. They should see what is happening in Europe and how far Britain is helping Russia. It is all known to everybody. Recent events in India have clearly shown that there is no difference between fascism and imperialism. We should go to the students and prepare them to conduct the work properly and to take the leadership of the movement. We must go to the workers regularly and explain to them that they should not produce any material for this war, which is being fought simply to preserve the empire. Japan cannot be resisted in this way. If the Englishman has any regard for the interests of India he should declare India free from today and then he will see

that the war production will increase a hundred times and recruitment will develop a thousand times, as there will be a wave of enthusiasm amongst people like that witnessed on the Stalingrad front. We have to tell the workers to take the national flag in their hands, to join the national forces and to leave their jobs and factories aside. We have to appeal to our brethern in the police and the army that they should become members of our army and help us in driving away the British Government from India. They should know that under the orders of the British Government they are tightening the chains of their mother. We have to explain to them that the life of this Government is very short and by helping this Government they would beamear their hands with the blood of their own brethren. We have to explain that they should pick up courage and join us as many other police and military men have done. Thus they will gain the price of being soldiers of a free country. We want to tell Indian officials and other Government employees that they should not compare this agitation with other Satyagrah movements. They were civil disobedience movements and this is a great revolution. In the previous movement we did not disown Government but we agitated. Now we have started revolution and we don't believe in the existence of the British Government any more. The Englishmen are in India only in the capacity of the 'Atataees'. So long as we recognised this Government they could live as its part and we had no objection, but now Indians refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Government and so it is not proper that they should remain. They should not become our enemy, as they are our brethren. You can help us as the skeleton of this Government depends on you. You should also join us, as many of our brethren who did not like to participate in the actions of these tyrants, and be helpful in freeing the country. In the same way we have to appeal to Vakils and barristers and school masters to persuade them to join the movement. To achieve this object and to reorganise ourselves the following scheme has been prepared:

1. The province should be divided into three group areas. One provincial dictator should co-ordinate the works of these parts and issue instructions from time to time. The division of the province is given in the attached list. Each area will

be divided into sub divisions with convenient centres and if any old centres has been working satisfactorily it should not be abolished but it should be reorganised properly.

2. There will be one man in charge of each group area headquarter, who will be responsible for the work of that area.

3. The provincial dictator will send a draft or a leaft which every group area headquarters will get it printed locally for distribution in its area. Each group will also have a right to do publicity work independently but would be preferable for the district Congress committees not to indulge in publicity work themselves. They should consult the group in-charge.

4. Every group incharge should send a monthly report to the Provincial office. The provincial office after collecting reports will prepare a bulletin, copies of which will be sent to the group centres to give a correct appreciation of the situation in the country and the province. Absence of such a bulletin is likely to diminish enthusiasm amongst masses.

5. At this juncture two kinds of programme are going on in the country:-

(1) within the scope of the non-violent principle to dislocate the means of communications and transport so as to smash Government machinery in such a way as to render it impossible for the improper use of them by these 'Atataees', and to destroy all emblems of the Government, and

(ii) propaganda, demonstrations and other work such as non-payment of revenue and organisation.

The first part is to be done by selected persons and the work they can do should be selected by them. This requires experienced hands and technicians and only such men should be selected for this work as can perforce it secretly. There is no necessity for any contact between the two classes of workers who will supervise both kinds of programmes.

6. It should be remembered that our policy is not

to court arrest but if there is any necessity to go to any place there should be no hesitation in doing so and taking the risk of being arrested. The publicity work should be pushed on vigorously. If our leflets cannot reach the masses it is useless for us to be outside the jails. We should not leave any stone unturned in sending our message to the people. If we are arrested in the course of our duty we should welcome it.

7. Every group centre should be self-sufficient financially and in other respects. It should not look upon other centres for its requirements but if for any reason a centre is unable to manage locally for any of its requirements, the deficiency will be made good by the prvincial centre.

8. Every group centre or district will train workers so that when one man is arrested another is available to take his place.

9. There should be adequate arrangements for the printing of leaflets in every centre for distribution.

10. On 23rd we have declared for freedom so every month we should give proof that we are free.

11. As to what you will have to do in connection with the sabotage you will get verbal instructions. Men selected for this department should be taken into the party after consulting the provincial dictator.

I have full hope that like other provinces, this province will not lag behind but will march forward and will leave no stone unturned to turn out the British Government from India.

Yours,

Dictator.

Provincial Congress Committee,
Lucknow.

The propaganda for no rent campaign and no revenue campaign should be started immediately and all possible efforts should be made to make it a success.

Names of District Comprising East Zone

Agra Zone - Agra, Aligarh, Muttra, Etah, Mainpuri, Meerut, Moradabad, Bijnore, Budaun,

Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshahr, Saharanpur, Dehradun & Garhwal.

Benares Zone - Ballia, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Benares, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Partapgarh, Sultanpur, Fyzebad, Basti and Gorakhpur.

Cawnpore Zone - Rest of the districts are in Cawnpore zone.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix V

An Appeal Issued by Jai Prakash Narayan to Freedom Fighters

F.28/Cong/42-E

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
'QUIT INDIA' DISTURBANCES
UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES

(E) IMPORTANT SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE

.....

(Extract from an appeal said to have been issued by Jai Prakash Narain "to all fighters of freedom".

.....

My own interpretation of the Congress position - not Gandhiji's - is clear and definite. Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power; we are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhiji's principles, that is not my fault. The Working Committee and the AICC themselves have chosen to differ from Gandhiji and to reject his conception of non-violence as applied to the war. Nor was Gandhiji allowed by the British power to lead and shape this resolution; so, in following interpretation we should in no manner be false to him. We should only be discharging our

duties in the light of our own reason. As far as I am concerned, I feel that I should be completely justified as an honest Congressman, without in any manner intruding my socialism upon the question, in repelling the British aggression with arms. I should add that I have no hesitation in addmitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure.

With the implication of the last phase of the revolution clear in our minds, we have to prepare, organise, train and discipline our forces. In everything we do, we have constantly to bear in mind that ours is not to be merely a conspiratorial action. It is total revolt of the work, we must do intensive work among the masses - peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. We must do ceaseless propaganda among them and help them in their present difficulties, organise them to fight for their present demands, recruit from them selected soldiers for our various activities and train them technically and politically. With training a few many succeed where thousands failed before. In every fiska and taluka and thana, in every considerable (Sic) factory and workshop or other industrial centres, we must have a band of militants, mentally and materially equipped for the next rising.

Then there is our work in the Indian Army and the Services. There is agitational and demonstrative work. There is work in the schools and colleges and in the market place. There is work in the Native States and on the frontiers of India. It is not possible for me here to describe our preparations more concretely. Let it suffice to say that there is tremendous work to be done and work for every one. Much is being done at present, but vastly more remains to be done.

XXX XXX XXX

Extract from the suggestions regarding work among industrial labour.

.....

We come to the conclusion, then, that the trade unions, while not entirely useless to us, can only

be of comparatively little service at this stage. We must, therefore, find some other avenue of approach to the worker. This avenue can only be organization of nationalist groups or "cells" among the workers. In every important factory or industrial unit such a cell should be formed. Through these cells our literature, slogans, ideas, programmes, instructions etc. may be passed on to the workers. These cells may also help us in the organization of industrial sabotage. A committee of the cell leaders may function as a revolutionary workers' committee in a given locality.

To form these cells is not an easy task and requires patience and skill. The Congress workers must first of all establish in some manner a contact with the workers in a factory or a locality. The earliest way to do this is to secure employment as an ordinary labourer in a factory. Here, we should like to point out that the Congress organizations should appeal to the students, who are willing to enrol as soldiers of the Revolution, to go to important industrial centres and seek employment in important industrial units as ordinary labourers. Having done so the revolutionaries should develop friendships with their co-workers, and after selecting the proper type of workers should proceed to instruct and educate them. Each one of such workers, after receiving necessary instructions, should be asked to form a group or cell around him of eight or nine other workers. Our revolutionaries need be in touch only with the cell leaders. After an organization has been built up, its efficiency may be tested through an action slogan, such as wearing of the Congress flag on a National Day, attending a flag salutation a sit-down strike or a one-day-strike on an economic or political issue. The weaknesses discovered as a result of the test may be set right.

It may not always be possible to adopt the above method of establishing contact with the workers. Other methods, then, must be used. A reading room may be opened, or a workers's cheap restaurant or tea-shop of a discussion centre or an office may be established where workers' letters and applications may be written and grievances collected which may be attempted to be redressed by approaching the employers. A small children's school may be opened or even some sort of a religious centre or a dispensary (homoeopathic,

ayurvedic, yunani or any other). Our revolutionary sisters may start a women's centre. In other words various forms of contact with the workers are vailable. As soon as contact has been established, formation of cells and instruction of cell leaders and cell members should begin. When a sufficient number of cells have been formed, our venue of approach to the workers is opened.

It is necessary to emphasize that our work among the labourers should not be entirely of a political nature. Economic issues, such as the question of wages, dearness allowance, food scarcity, cheap stores etc. should be fully made use of - indeed, they should constitute the starting point of our work - and direct action in that connection such as strikes, sit-down strikes or slowing down of production should be encouraged. Our workers must, therefore, closely study the problems of the labourers among whom they work, as also their life and physchology. They should make every effort to win the confidence and affection.

It is further necessary to point out that our political propaganda among the working classes should not only emphasize participation of the workers in the National Revolution, but should at the same time make clear the nature of the Revolution, and the place of labour in the Free Republic of India.

XXX XXX XXX

Indefinitely prolonged strikes on the political issue are not a practical proposition today. While, therefore, we must continue to propagate the idea of a general strike and seizure of power as a part of a second mass rising, we should concentrate on the other items. Strikes on economic issues are possible and these should be promoted to the fullest of our resources. The food situation, the high prices, the question of wages and allowances, the restrictions on the freedom of the workers - all these offer issues on which strikes may be brought about. Directions regarding these points as related to different industries shall be issued from time to time. Sit-down strikes on the issue of cheap food and cheap cloth are a possibility, as the workers are themselves taking the initiative in that direction. Slowing down of production and sabotage are both eminently possible. The first item is already

fairly popular with the workers, but a good deal of propaganda is still necessary in that behalf.

XXX XXX XXX

In the first class, which should be attacked first of all, may be placed the following: Ordinance Factories, Railways including railway workshops, Iron & Steel Works, Collieries, Shipyards and Docks, air-craft factories. In the second class may be placed textile (woolen and cotton), leather and jute factories - particularly those doing war contracts and those owned by British interest. The remaining may be classed in class three. Every Provincial Congress organization must classify the industrial establishment within its jurisdiction and direct its activities in the order of their importance.

XXX XXX XXX

A.B.C. of Dislocation

I offer here a plea for the special consideration of those of our fighters for Indian freedom who have been engaged in the work of dislocation as well as of those who wish to undertake this form of activity. Much valuable energy and resources are lost and workers sacrificed unnecessarily because of the ignorance of our workers and the lack of adequate knowledge required for successful actions. This plan should be supplemented by each group of workers with simple and precise instruction regarding the technic of underground activities. It is obvious that in the present phase particular attention should be paid to the problem of building up a sound decentralised organisation and the work of preparation both in respect to man-power and materials.

PAMILA AZAD

.....

AZAD DASTAS

The mass upsurge which marked the first phase of our Revolution has now declined. This should cause us no undue anxiety. It is in the nature of mass upheavals that they do not remain for long at the height of their intensity. Either a mass rising must secure within a short time its objective or its intensity must wane. The waning of its intensity, however,

does not mean that all is over with it. In a revolution ups and downs are natural. The masses move forward and retreat and they move forward at one tremendous leap: for certain reasons they failed to reach their objective and retreated. It is certain that they shall advance again.

Three factors were responsible for the initial retreat of the Revolution: (i) lack of an organization to lead the resurgent masses: (ii) absence of a full programme of the Revolution; (iii) failure of all parts of the country to rise together.

The last of these is self-evident. The first two require some explanation. In those parts of the country where the people rose in all their strength, there was a tremendous release of energy. This energy was largely wasted because there was no guidance or direction as to how it should be spent. The people very early and with comparative ease completed the negative aspect of their task, viz. the destruction of the civil authority of the usurper power. But having destroyed the police stations, they did not know what further they had to do; they did not know how to create their own power and resist the reconquest of the liberated areas. The waste of energy and opportunity and the helplessness of the people are well exemplified in the case of the thousands of villagers who looted the military stores at the Barauni Junction, B.N.W. Rly. in North Bihar. It is reported that the people took possession of nearly 25,000 rifles and 30,000 rounds of ammunition, apart from other stores. With that material a fine people's militia could have been raised and a revolutionary government might have influenced the police and the armed forces in the neighbouring districts and it was not improbable that the liberated areas had secured further adherents and expanded their territories.

The masses will take sometime to recoup their energy. Objective forces, such as the food and price situation, repression, propaganda, turns in the war will also take sometime to create the psychological atmosphere that would require only a spark to produce another mass explosion. We should utilize the present firstly to remove the deficiencies that were discovered to exist at the beginning of the Revolution, and secondly, to produce as soon as possible those factors which

would again lead to a mass upheaval. One method (we should emphasize that it is only one of other methods) of doing this is to create in every district a band of shock troopers, a sort of advance guard, who should possess the proper technical and political training, and who should, in the manner of guerillas, wage ceaseless war against the enemy.

Let us call band AZAD DASTAS in Hindustanee. The idea of these DASTAS, in the form of guerillas, is widely current. It is necessary to give concrete shape to these ideas and to get on with the work without delay and without talk. In some Provinces these DASTAS already exist; their work in those parts has to be systematized.

It is intended to give directions and suggestions for the organization of these DASTAS.

The nearest equivalents to our AZAD DASTAS would be European guerillas. The dictionaries define a guerilla as "one engaged in irregular warfare generally in small independent bodies".

The term is derived from the Spannish "guerra" meaning war. It is said the guerillas were the main force which prevented Napoleon from ever completely conquering Spain, Guerillas played an important part in the Russian Revolution and in occupied Europe today they are continuously harassing the Hitler regime. In occupied India our AZAD DASTAS can become the instruments of complete paralysis and demoralization of British rule. They can in time become the leaders of the mass insurrection and the nucleus of revolutionary people's army of the Republic of India.

There are 250 districts in British occupied India. In a district of average size 250 AZADS might be organised in five Jathas of 50 Azads each, which should further be divided into 25 Dastas of ten Azads each. It is suggested that every member of the Dastas should have the sur-title Azad added to his name; so that, if his name is Sher Singh, he should be known as Sher Singh Azad. In this manner our Azad would mean the same as the Spanish "guerilla" or the Russian "partisan". To be known as Azad would be synonymous with being a member of an Azad Dasta (a guerilla unit) of a Dasta as Azad Dastadar.

DISCIPLINE & OATH

Each Dasta should be formed around a leader who should select and recruit his Azads and to whom the latter should pledge implicit obedience. All Azads and Azad officers must take the following oath of allegiance.

I, a citizen of the Republic of India and true son of Mother India, do solemnly pledge that I, as an Azad, shall not fease fighting the British usurper till the Republic of India is established and the free flag of the Republic flies from one end of country to the other.

I pledge my unquestioned loyalty to the Indian Revolution and do solemnly declare that I shall be ready to lay down my life in its service.

I pledge further to obey implicitly the orders of my officers and to observe strict military discipline.

Should I by weakness, cowardice or evil design, violate this oath and betray the interest of my people, may I suffer any punishment, including death, at the hands of my comrades.

When a Dasta is organised, its members will confirm their leader by vote or may elect another leader from among themselves. Their leader once elected, they should give him unquestioned loyalty. It should be the concern of the leader to see that his Azads are properly clothed and fed and his Dasta has the necessary equipment and secures the necessary training. He should function, as far as possible not dictatorially but democratically, the decisions of the Dasta being as far as possible the result of joint consultations.

The AZADS and their officers should, as far as possible, be young men with good physique and active habits.

WHO SHOULD BE THE OFFICERS?

THE AZAD DASTADARS and Jathedars may be political workers, school teachers, college students, deserts from the army or the police forces. They should have some education including political education. The initiative in organising the dastas must be taken by such leaders. A Jathedar may select four suitable men and charge them each with the responsibility of

recruiting nine Azads, to form in this manner four Dastas should get specific sanction from the District Organization for each dasta to operate. After the sanction has been secured each Dastadar with the help of his Jathadar shall collect the necessary equipment and arrange for the necessary training of his Azads after which his Dasta should begin to operate in his locality.

For the formation of the AZAD DASTAS it should be possible to issue appeals to those who have deserted from the Army to join or form such Dastas. Where we contact with Indian regiments we should try to persuade suitable soldiers and officers to desert with their arms and form or join Azad Dastas. This should be one of the important activities of the Army Dept. We should also try to persuade armed policemen to desert for the same purpose.

The experience of guerillas elsewhere shows that it is not possible for a central organization of them to be formed. Our Azad Dastas too cannot have a central organization. They can only be given general guidance and help the dissemination of technical advice. In the Provinces too it may not be possible to have a centralised organisation, but a loose co-ordination must exist between the districts and the Provincial Azad Dastas should be able to keep in touch with the district organisations. In the districts, however, there should be closer co-ordination and the five Jathadars must work together, so that there should be no confusion or duplication in their action. They should also be able to pool their resources whenever it is necessary.

To ensure smooth working and maintenance of discipline and also to ensure that the Azad movement does not get out of control and follows the policy we suggest an Azad Subedar who should be responsible for the general guidance of the Azad movement in the entire Province and to whom should be subordinated all the District Azad formations. The Subedar should appoint Azad Ziladars from amongst the Jathadars, to whom should be subordinated the Jathadars and all the Azad formations in the district. The Dastadars should, of course, be responsible and subordinate to their respective Jathadars.

FINANCE:

The financing of the Azad Dastas is a serious problem. But it is not insoluble if the Dastas are active and in touch with the people. It is impossible for the Dastas to be financed from the centre. Nor, has it ever happened in history that guerillas were financed by a central authority. Particularly in the matter of food and clothing, guerillas have always been known to obtain their requirements from the people among whom they operated. The very basis of the operation of guerilla bands is the support that such support should be generally available to our Dastas.

Our Dastas should make willing collection of grain and other roadstuffs from the villages near which they operate. Appeals should be issued to village people to give the Azads what they can spare. It is estimated that there are a million sadhus in our country who do not work and are yet fed by the people. Our Azads if organised to the full strength herein suggested shall only be a sixteenth of this number and if the people are approached properly, they would not refuse to feed them too. Bazars may be asked to contribute cloth and other necessaries for the Azads. In a district of 20 lakhs there will be 250 Azads on the average. It should not be difficult for the district to feed and clothe such a small number of people. The only condition is that the Azad must be active and should on no account molest the people.

Another source of income for guerillas is raids on the enemy. Our Dastas should also utilize that source. They may loot mail bags, small post offices, revenue collection before they reach headquarters (so that it would be easy to loot them) other government property such as grain shops and other stores of the usurpers.

In this manner the Azad Dastas must finance themselves.

It should be mentioned here that it would be inadvisable for our Dastas to get mixed up with professional dacoits or other criminals.

PLAN OF OPERATION:

Past experience in Europe and Asia has shown that guerillas operate best in hilly or jungle tracts. There are in every province of our country many such tracts. These should be the main bases of our Azad

Dastas. But it may be possible, in fact, it has been shown to be possible during the present Revolution itself, that guerillas may be able to operate in plain country also and have their bases there, when they are firmly rooted among the mass of our people.

What is the plan of operation of the Azad Dastas? Firstly, let us see what place these Dastas have in the general plan of our Revolution. Guerilla fighting has always constituted an important part of a people's war, or a revolution, but it has never been its main part. The Russian and Chinese guerillas of the present days do not constitute the main part of armed forces of their country. But they serve to spread the spirit of resistance to the enemy far beyond the reaches of the regular forces, and thus help in mobilizing the whole people against their foes. In the conquered areas, particularly guerillas keep up the spirit of resistance, harass and demoralize the enemy and prepare the people for a general rising.

Our Azads have a similar task. The main part of our Revolution is, of course, an open rebellion of the whole people. Such an open rebellion broke out in August and September last. A similar, nay, vaster rebellion is our immediate objective, and we prepare for it in various ways. An integral part of this work is the organization of Azad Dastas. In the absence of a mass rising, it is our Azads who will carry ceaseless war into the enemy, who will harass him and dislocate and demoralise his administration. Their continuous conflict with the enemy will keep up and radiate the spirit of resistance and also be a training to the people in general in the acts of resistance. The Azad movement, further, will put in the field a tested and trained cadre of revolutionaries, who by virtue of intimate contact with the people, will become their natural leaders in this manner, the Azad movement would form a valuable part of the National Revolution and an important method of preparing for a general mass rising.

With the nature of guerilla work clear in our minds, we may proceed to a detailed consideration of the plan of action of our Azad Dastas. The plan may be divided into three parts: (1) Dislocation of communications and war-effort; (2) Depriving Government treasuries and such like of monies; (3) raids for

destruction of the centres of enemy's authority and for disarming them.

(1) DISLOCATION
See "Instructions Regarding Dislocation" published elsewhere.

(2) DEPRIVING GOVT. TREASURES ETC. OF MONIES:
In this connection the following actions are suggested:-

(i) Looting of mail bags;
(ii) Looting of post offices and railway stations;
(iii) looting of railway trains carrying government money;
(iv) looting of revenue collections before they reach headquarters;
(v) looting of government grain shops and other government stores.

(3) RAIDS ON CENTRES OF ENEMY AUTHORITY:
The following raids may be carried out:-

(i) raid on police stations for disarming and destruction of records;
(ii) raids on chowkies, patwari's office, registration office, chungi office and other small and not-too well guarded offices and destruction of the records contained therein and of other properties, where possible.

Looting of small bags has been found very successful in Karnatak and parts of Gujarat. In Karnatak a number of railway stations have also been burnt down by dislocation bands. In Gujarat in the Broach District two police stations were raided by trained bands, and disarmed and records were burnt. In the second raid only 27 guerillas, whom we shall call Azads, took part. This was due to detailed planning and disciplined attack.

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT:

There is much irresponsible talk today and unnecessary running about for arms particularly rifles and revolvers. Many people seem to think that nothing effective can be done without fire-arms and they spend all their time either in talking about them or in securing and keeping them in safety. Often enough the arms when secured are useless, for there is no ammunition or there is no one who can use them.

We are anxious to emphasize that since killing and terorism are no part of our programme, possession of arms is inessential for us except as means of self-defence for our Azads. They shall also be of value, when, in the event of a mass rising, the opportunity arises to form units of the country's revolutionary army. For present action, however, arms are not an unavoidable necessity. Many effective forms of guerilla activity are possible without any fire-arms whatever such as dislocation of communications, looting of mail bags, etc., burning of offices and station. During such actions a few country weapons are sufficient for the protection of the Azads. In Karnatak where guerilla activities are the most widespread there is very little of fire-arms used.

Our anxiety is to remove the mentality, which is fairly common, that without rifles and revolvers nothing is possible. We have already indicated that the greater part of the Azad activities can be carried out without such arms at least for the present and for some time to come. If every district in India were doing today what, for instance, Belgaum is doing, we should have succeeded, without any large possession of fire-arms in bringing the administration of the enemy to near paralysis. And that would surely have been a signal for the people to rise again in all their force.

Raids to disarm the enemy shall provide training to the Azads and enable the unfit to be eliminated. They shall also serve to undermine the foundations of the enemy's rule and hearten and embolden the people.

The equipment necessary for an Azad Dastas is suggested below:-

(a) Pliers or wire cutters - 2
(b) Hack-saws - 2
(c) Hammers - 2
(d) Axe - 1
(e) Spades - 4
(f) Pick-Axes - 2
(g) Lathis - 10
(h) Spears - 5
(i) Materials for incendiaries
(j) Two ropes thickness ½", length 12 ft.
(k) Copper wiring 1/18Swg., length 10"

TRAINING OF AZADS:

The question of training of Azads is important. Training includes political training as well as technical training. As far as technical training is concerned, for the initial stages, at least, no special training is required except what comes through practice. For instance, how to climb a telegraph pole or how to use a plier or a hacksaw or how to make an incendiary packet (following written instructions) is a matter of a little practice or patience. This type of training is thus largely self-acquired.

Training can be given only on the "relay" basis. In one centre a trainer trains up, say 5 selected Azads. These trained Azads then train separately other small batches of Azads and so on. Any training centre where a large number of Azads and a large amount of equipment have been collected is strongly deprecated.

We would further suggest that since the simpler forms of Azad activities do not require any special training, the plea that trainers are not available, should not be made an excuse for not immediately getting on with the work.

IMMEDIATE TASK:

At present Azad activities are being carried out in a very few parts of the country. There, too, the organisation has to be improved in many ways. In the greater part of the country, however, we have to begin on a clean slate and our Azad Dastas have to be organized anew. The first thing to do is to form the Dastas and Jathas. When a sufficient number of them has been formed, action may begin.

The plan of action has already been discussed. Ordinarily, people are inclined to indulge in heroics and romanticism when they come to deal with guerilla fighting. We suggest that we approach the task with society and a practical sense. Altogether too much time and effort have been wasted on trying to blow up bridges and on spectacular actions. Blowing up of bridges and similar actions are at present beyond the scope of our Azad Dastas. Later on when they have functioned for some time, select Dastas of intelligent and tried Azads might be formed for this purpose

and the necessary expert advice and guidance might be made available to them. But at least for the present we must concentrate on wide-spread, simple, easily-learnt actions. The actions we particularly recommend are: (1) cutting of telegraph and telephone line; (2) the various forms of railway dislocation mentioned in the Instructions below; (3) incendiarism - burning of the enemies' offices, stores, etc. (4) looting of mail bags, post-offices, etc.

These activities would require no particular training and, if practised on a sufficiently wide scale, would prove to be very effective. Their effectiveness is to be judged by the effect produced both on the enemy and the people. From this point of view, wide-spread dislocation of even a petty type is to be preferred to a big but isolated action. The former trains up a larger number of persons, spreads the spirit of resistance over a much larger areas encourages and emboldens the people more and causes much greater demoralization in the ranks of the enemy than the latter. We are not opposed to big actions, but where resources are limited and beginning has to be made, we stress the dispersed rather than the concentrated form of action.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix VI

Struggle for Independence in Bengal

F.28/Cong/42-A-III

(Monthly Report of the Struggle for Independence in Bengal - August and September)

The unwelcome and somewhat unexpected message of the arrest of Mahatmaji, all members of the Working Committee and other provincial leaders during the Bombay session of the AICC that appeared in the extra-ordinary issues of the Calcutta dailies, came as a thunderbolt from the blue sky to the citizens of the metropolis. Gradually these tidings spread like wild fire throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. But as no programme adumbrated by the AICC was on the

hand of the Bengal workers, they were waiting for the return of the AICC members from whom it was expected that the programme would be procured. To their great surprise, most of those members were incarcerated stealthily by the usurper administration and no news of their arrest was given due publicity in the columns of the newspapers, owing to the restrictions imposed by the press Adviser. As days passed by, the struggle of Bombay and other provinces assumed serious and alarming proportions. Elated by that example of the brave soldiers of Bombay, the students of Calcutta at first set the ball rolling and they were getting out of schools and colleges, parading the streets in processions, holding meetings in parks etc. Calcutta was in such a great taking that our brave soldiers of cosmopolitan kind of people gave vent to their suppressed anti-British feelings through barricading the Calcutta streets with duatnine, loge of wood, bullock carts etc., snapping trolley ropes of tram-cars, cutting the overhead telephone and tram wires and demolishing and setting fire to the tram cars. Chorus of proteste was raised from every quarter of the city against the repressive policy of the alien rulers. Fire broke out here, there and everywhere. Fire Brigades were moving from one end to the other like anuttlecocks., Fire Alarm boxes were broken, light posts were uprooted, letter boxes ignited and all kinds of conveyances were brought to a standstill. Even the Government officials and other persons clad in European dresses could not escape the notice of the guerillas. They expressed resentment against the wearing of European dresses and compelled them to put off their garments and doff their hats. When these events were on the gale, military lorries and armoured cars made their appearance in the streets, piled to and fro in order to terrorise the revolutionary people. As a result, great sensation prevailed in the city. Many policemen armed with rifles and Sergeants with revolvers were prowling in the creeks and corners of the streets. For days together, the city was so to say in the hands of our brave national soldiers. The result was indiscriminate firing, merciless lathi-charges, sweeping arrests and all-pervading searches.

What Calcutta thinks today, the rest of Bengal thinks tomorrow. Immediately after the launching of the

struggle in Calcutta the districts could not remain idle and made a ready response. Dacca, the nursery of revolutionary activities since the birth of the national movement, plunged headlong into the whirlpool of the struggle for India's independence and cut a splendid figure. The revolutionaries of Dacca maintained their old tradition by cutting telegraph and telephone wires, burning the records of a number of post offices, Govt. schools and colleges, attacking the Munsiff's Court and the railway station, making the roads impassable for the military lirries and last but not the least by tampering with the railway lines and destroying the railway properties.

Midnapore, the land of the mass movement since the initiation of the Gandhian movement, though participates late in the struggle did not lag behind in contributing their quota to the fullest extent. Especially the national soldiers of the Tamluk and Contai subdivisions tried their level best to eliminate the last vestiges of British Imperialism from their own locality and in that respect they were successful to a great extent. According to a planned programme of the workers of those subdivisions all the centres of power of the alien rulers were attacked, destroyed or damaged. In two thanas of the Contai sub-division all kinds of Govt. and semi-Govt. institutions have been totally abolished and the localities are completely in the control of our national soldiers. But ruthless repression followed in their footsteps and the rebellious people are enjoying the fullest dose of it. Indiscriminate firing, merciless beating and burning of the houses of workers are continuing with great fury.

Hooghly with its doughty champions of liberty is slowly but steadily raising its head against British Imperialism and will not suffer in comparison in respect of crippling the power and shaking the very foundation of the alien rulers in its locality.

Burdwan with its band of valiant fighters is striking mightily against the Imperialist exploiter and creating effective disturbance in his day-to-day administration.

All other districts also followed suit and did their bits. In Chittagong and Noakhali no note worthy revolutionary activities took place. Notwith-standing some

of their workers have succumbed to the jaws of the Defence of India Rules. In Sylnet, number of arrests mounted high and as regards boycott of British courts their success was splendid.

It may be mentioned in this connection that Bengal could not make a good start as the prominent leaders and workers of Forward Bloc and other political parties succumbed to the octopus clutches of the Defence of India Rules long before the struggle for India's Independence was launched by Mahatmaji. In addition to this, various restrictions were also imposed on the movements of the prominent workers of the districts. This is why they could not respond to the nation's clarion call and render any effective service to the cause of the country when it really stood in sore need of their bold guidance.

PUBLICITY: In order to further the cause of the Congress and intensify the struggle, printed and cyclostyled bulletins are being brought out from various sources in Calcutta. Through these organs instructions are issued to workers in particular and the public in general and authentic news of the revolutionary activities of the urban and rural areas are catered for the countrymen. The names of printed bulletins are: "Do or Die", "Free India" (formerly cyclostyled), "Karo ya Maro" (Hindi now defunct) and those cyclostyled bulletins are "Congress Bulletin" (English), "News Sheet" (English), "Congress Pracharpatra" (Bengali). Besides these cyclostyled Bengali news bulletins are also published from Vikrampore (Dacca), Hooghly, Burdwan and Midnapore.

Pamphlets, leaflets, booklets and posters are also issued jointly or severally from various sources in Bengali, English, Hindi and Urdu.

CONGRESS & MAHOMMEDANS: In the present struggle for our independence, our Mahommedan brethren in general are not participating actively, but there is no use gainsaying the fact that they are doing nothing prejudicial to the successful prosecution of our War. Jamiat-ul-Ulema and other nationalist Muslims are fighting hand in hand with us. Press reports from Chittagong show that many Mahomedans have been incar-

cerated by this time though there is no aggressive movement. Then again in Sylhet, a great number of of their participation in the national struggle. But it is a deplorable fact that some Mahommedans betrayed their communal spirit and played into the hands of the British Imperialists at Bhanga (Faridpur) and at Contai and Tamluk (Midnapur). Besides these, information has been received from Vikarampore (Dacca) to the effect that the high Govt. Officials are tying to sabotage the intensive movement there by rousing the communal feeling among the Muslims. The Radical Democratic Party, vile betrayer of the cause of the country, are on the other hand inciting the unsophisticated Muslim masses of the locality against our national soldiers. As a result the communal spirit runs high there.

ANTI CONGRESS ACTIVITIES: Under the shadow of the Govt. patronage, the Communist Party and the Radical Democratic Party are disseminating leaflets and pamphlets right and left among all sections of the People in order to poison the ears of the countrymen and are loudest in their invectives against the Congress. "Janta" and "Janajudha" are the two Bengali organs of those two parties. Whenever there was any attempt to bring about a strike in any mill or factory these reactionary elements stood between the organisers and labourers and tried every means to create a cleavage in their ranks. That is why no effective labour strike on political grounds could be brought about. A great number of labourers of some mills and factories only struck work on economic grounds. The demands which would not have been conceded during the normal times were readily met by the employers and the strike was called off.

Then again these Communist and Radical Democratic Parties rendered immense disservice to the students' movements of Bengal by breaking their morale, carrying on anti-propaganda and having recourse to other nefarious tactics.

SUSPENSION OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE DAILIES & WEEKLIES.

As a mark of strong protest against the suppression of the news of the Congress activities in the province and circulation of cooked and distorted news, the authorities of the fifteen nationalist newspapers suspended their publication for 10 days. The names of

those papers are: "Dainik Basumati", "Telegraph", "Amrita Bazar Patrika", "Jugantar", "Ananda Bazar Patrika Hindusthan Standard", "Viswamitra", "Abridged Ananda Bazar Patrika", "Advance", "Matribhumi", "Bharat", "Dainik Krishak", "Jagriti", "Pratyaha", "Lokamanya".

On 18th August Bengali "Harijan" office and on the 20th August the "Bharat" office were searched and sealed by the police. The "Bharat" did a great deal in promoting the cause of the Struggle by giving due publicity to all sorts of news regarding the political situation with full particulars in defiance of the Govt. restrictions and by writing inflammatory editorials

Besides these, "Forward" (Calcutta, "Patra" (Bengali-Hooghly), Pallir Katha" (Bengali-Burdwan) also suspended their publications.

Thanks to the strict vigilance of the press Adviser of the Imperialistic alien Government and the publication of the cooked news in the columns of news-papers it has been impossible for us to furnish the corect information of the Congress activities in the districts. Moreover, due to the dislocation of postal communications, we could not keep ourselves in close touch with happenings of the moffusil areas. Monthly reports from some private sources only have reached our hands by this time. This is why we encountered much difficulty in preparing statement of this sort and cannot claim any finality in this matter. Picketing at schools and liquor shops and flag hoistings on Govt. institutions have not been taken into account because we have attached little importance to these activities in this present struggle. In view of the insufficiency of information regarding the political situation of the moffusil areas, the number of hartals, meetings and processions given here fall far below their exact number. We have put here only the number of those hartals, meetings and processions whose reports we have gathered from the columns of newspapers and our private sources. As regards the arrests, convictions and other details of different districts we have got the same tale to tell. So it is quite natural that there may be omissions. If detailed reports furnish-ing us with the happenings, dates and places of occurrance be forthcoming we will gladly correct the mistakes and have lurked in this resume.

Much will remain unsaid if we do not mention anything

about the behaviour of the Indian Police. They were sympathetic towards this struggle from the very beginning and expressed their sympathy not only in words but in deeds also by not taking any part in the inhuman atrocities committed by the other agents of the usurper Government. In some cases, they refused to carry out the orders of their superiors and had to undergo punishment as a result. In fact, while the British forces did not shrink from having recourse to any kind of brutality in order to terrorise the masses, the Indian Police played the part of passive onlookers and helped indirectly in furthering our cause.

.....

D Struggle in Bengal

August & September figures at a glance. Arrests - 2878, including 53 ladies and 40 Moulvies Conviction - 358, including 18 ladies.

Hartal---------- 114)
Meetings--------- 168)On different dates and in
Processions------ 222)different places.

Lathi charge - 68 occasions; wounded - 173 and many more. Firing - 44

Occasions; killed - 131 and many more.
wounded - 421 and many more.

Tear Gas - on 11 occassions.
Post Offices destroyed or damaged --- more than 118.
Union Boards destroyed or damaged --- more than 57.
Debt Settlement Board destroyed or damaged --- 21.
Panchayeti Unions destroyed --- more than 20.
Dak Bungalows destroyed or damaged --- 14.
Flag Hoisting on Govt. Building --- 20.
No. of thanas attacked, destroyed or damaged --- 11.
Excise shops destroyed or damaged --- 26.
Protest Meetings by non-Congress bodies --- 21.
Resignation --- 137 and many more.
Supersession of Municipalities --- 3.
Suspension of Practice --- 2699 pleaders, muktears and clerks.
Picketing (Courts, Stations, etc.) --- 32 places.
Courts attacked and damaged --- 8.
Labour strikes --- 40 mills and factories.

Dislocation:-
Trams burnt or destroyed --- 18.

Tele wires snapped --- 69 areas.
Rails removed or line damaged --- 16 places.
Bridges & culverts destroyed --- 30.
Ry. & Steamer Stations attacked & damaged 1-14.
Collective Fines --- Rs.85,300/-
Resistance or Arrests --- 8 places.
Govt. Officials arrested --- 33.
Other Govt. Institutions attacked and damaged --- 30.
Khasmahal offices destroyed --- 6.
Sub-registry office destroyed --- 4.
Zemindari Kutcheri destroyed --- 18.
Government arms captured --- 13 guns, 2 swords.
Congress offices sealed --- 16.

.....

The districts most affected were Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Nadia, Murshidabad, Chittagong, Tippera, Sylhet, Dacca, Faridpur, Mimen Singh, Brisol, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Mardah, Bhugra, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Burdwan, Howrah, Midnapur, etc.

There is a reference in fortnightly report No.4 and 5 of 1943 dated February 1943 that Mahindra Hazarika the most active and dangerous leader of Nowgong, Organiser of the Mrityu Bahini (Suicide Squad), and some member of his gang had been arrested and 17 guns have been recovered from his possessions.

There seems to have been organisation called the Sangramwallas Quite active in Shillong. It concentrated in organising sabotage work amongst the peasants and workers so as to create a chaos. Mostly the followers were inhabitants of Gopalganj Thana, Latu and Habibganj. To hamper military supply by derailing trains was though to be an imperative duty.

Certain it is that Midnapur stands first and foremost amongst the districts of Bengal in her heroic struggle for freedom, but other districts are not lagging far behind in their contribution to the cause of their country's freedom. Murder, Rape, Arson, loot are the watchwords which the British Govt. represents.

Administrative machineries in the form of Swaraj Panchayats have already been started in certain localities Republic. All the functions, civil and military, are administered by these units; they are practically to be states in miniature. Representatives from these

Panchayats will make the future constitution of free Indian Federation. Already they have taken up and are carrying on the civil duties and administration of the areas where they are established. They administer peace and justice, look to the safety and welfare of the people, guard the villages from robbers and dacoits, control export of food materials and prevent suspected persons from ingress into villages.

Arrests. 158 including 20 ladies. Numerious other persons are being frequently taken to the Special Branch of the Intelligence Dept. and examined there. No accurate figure of conviction could be produced.

Searches. House-searches, varying from 5 to 10, are almost daily occurence.

Hartal. 9.12.42. - Hartal was observed throughout Calcutta on the Free India Day. Students of almost all the colleges resorted to strikes and most of the shops and bazars remained closed.

Students' Demonstration. The Schools and Colleges of Calcutta remained closed up till middle of Nov. as a sequel to demonstrations, strikes, etc. On the 2nd of Dec. the students of the City, Ripon, Bangabashi, Vidyasagar, Scottish, Ashutosh, St. Xaviers and Jadab-pur colleges assembled in a meeting in the University premises where speeches were made.

Constables Left. More than 600 constables of Calcutta are said to have left without notice after the bombing of 24th Dec.

Activities Calculated to Dislocate the Administrative Machinery -

On 5.10.42 some revolutionaries attacked the Garpar Post Office and threw bombs there. The papers were burnt and they took possession of Rs.300/-.

14.12 - At noon some revolutionaries raided the Beadon St. Post Office, 5 bombs exploded. 2 persons including a peon were injured. It is said that Rs.1500/- was seized.

The letter boxes of the following places were set fire to in different dates:-

Shyambazar (3 times), Ahiritola (3), Hatkhola, 22nd December some bombs exploded at noon in the Calcutta Stock Exchange.

The Mrityu-Bahini corps of Nowgong District started as an off-shoot of Congress Shanti Sena's Organisation. When Shanti Sena was banned, the Congress terrorist under the leadership of Hazarika selected the toughest members of the Shanti Sena for Mrityu-Bahini.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix VII

Secret Note on Revolutionary Activities and Attitude of Communists

F.24/Cong/42-V

The instructions which headed every review of revolutionary matters read "that officers of other provinces to whom this weekly review is addressed should note that the weekly review is to be kept in their personal custody. No reference to it either as a whole or to any portion of it should be made in any file or official documents nor is to be shown to any person not a member of the police force and the official (police) superior of the person to whom it is addressed. It should not be mixed up with other secret or confidential papers in transit and when passing from one official to another should invariably be enclosed in a sealed envelope addressed by name to the official for whom it is intended and marked personal".

Jugantar group seems to have fully participated in the Movement launched by the Congress. Secret committees were formed of 3 members in each sub-division to be in charge of the Congress Movement. The members were of the view that they would not hesitate to use arms against the police if the latter adopted repressive measures. Bhupati Charan Majumdar, Advaita Charan Datta and Bhupendra Mazumdar were the most active workers. Sudhir Kumar Ghosh took upon himself the task of creating unrest among the labourers of different mills and factories and was assured of cooperation from the labour leaders of Jamshedpur, Burn Pur and the Kesho Ram Cotton Mills. He is also reported to have made plans to cut the Assam and

Bengal main railway line beyond Dum Dum. The parties reported to have obtained chemicals with which to make bombs to burn and kill Europeans in general and police seargents in particular and to spread the Movement in rural areas. An appeal to officers of the D.I.B. not to do their duty by deleting passages in his letter that conveyed instructions to party members outside jail were made by security prisoner Arun Guha in a letter to a friend. He said that a fund had been opened for giving financial help to any police official who lost his job through patriotic disobedience of orders. P.C. Biswas was sent to Chittagong to organise the Movement there. It was hinted that the regular running of the Chittagong Mail reflected little credit on the Chittagong party. Sri Sangha, another revolutionary group on receipt of instructions from the security prisoners Anil Ray, head of the Sri Sangha who was able to smuggle out his instructions from the Alipore Central Jail advised his followers to join the Movement, attack the D.I.B. Office, post offices and telephone exchanges and go underground. The members of the Anushilan Group, leading figures of which were Sachindra Chakrabartti and Birendra Ganguli, issued instructions that their followers should join the Movement. Members of this party were connected with the raid on the Munsif's court at Dacca on August 13, and molestation of officers of D.I.B. of Dacca. In Barisal, Faridpur, Murshidabad, Hoogli, Rangpur, Cooch Bihar, the members of the Samiti organised the bringing out of students from schools, burning and looting of police stations, railway stations, leaflet distribution and other such acts. The Bolshevik Party of India and Bengal Labour Party decided in a secret meeting that they would organise processions of labourers and students to protest against the arrest of Congress leaders but would not indulge in any rowdyism In a resolution they denounced the policy of both the Government and the Congress and urged them to find some solution of the problem. The Bengal Labour Association, however, fully supported the Congress stand and intended to foment strikes in schools and colleges.

The Comminist Party of India declared the proposed Congress Satyagraha inopportune and harmful to the cause of Indian Independence at the present time.

The imprisonment of the Congress leaders and other would broadcast to the world that the Movement has been inspired by a 5th colum tendency and thus assist the Japanese. P.C. Joshi, however, commented on the arrest of the Congress leaders "the insolent imperialist have struck the first blow. The Congress kept the door for negotiations open. The bureaucratic government has answered it with the arrest of the entire national leadership and worse. The government is the provocateur, it has let loose force of anarchy and in this utter blindness it seeks to create an anti-national, anti-Congress front.... We Communists firmly belive that the lead for struggle given by the Working Committee was not the path of national struggle but of national suicide. Nevertheless, the national leadership backed by the vote of AICC had expressed its eagerness to strive for settlement to the very last moment. It is insolent alien government that has perpetrated the Movement.... We must foil the Government's game of forming of anti-Congress front. The united voice demands immediate release of Congress leaders and starting of negotiations to meet India's national demand.

A secret report from Mymensingh states that the local communists have received instructions from the Bengal Committee to keep out of Gandhi's Movement because it would impede the war efforts of the allied nations which they have pledged themselves to support unconditionally. The District Congress Committee has taken disciplinary action against 2 communists. On the other hand, in one place in this district a communist led a procession of about 50 persons shouting Congress slogans. While in Faridpur students communists joined in picketing schools and holding protest meetings, at Jessore and at Rangpur they do not. At Nadia they dislike the C.P.I.'s stand. In Calcutta, students communist organised meetings of protest and some minor communists made some speeches. Some of them were heckled as traitors by Congress workers.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix VIII

Underground Activities in U.P. and Bihar

F.28/Cong/42-B-I September -October 1942

The Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., U.P. reported to the Home Secretary in his letter dated September 21, 1942 of 6,000 objectionable leaflets, search was made for two accomplices, Harish Chander Nigam and one Jasuda Nand, the former was arrested in Banaras and from his possession Congress bulletins were obtained and some addresses which led to the recovery of a cyclostyled machine complete with pen, roller and ink. Addresses recovered in various note-books and documents of the persons arrested reveal their contacts in Bihar, Bengal, Delhi and Dholpur. Cyclostyled machines have been recovered in Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur and Shahjehanpur.

An extract from the situation in Bihar during the first three weeks of September 1942 says "apart from the obvious Banares Hindu University student connections, nothing substantial was yet revealed of inter-provincial connection or of any master mind of key organisation controlling operations in the Congress insurrection after the orthodox leaders had gone to jail. As far as was known (and only the most deliberate and carefully screened enquiries in a varying degree can prove every-where) there was no contact with the Axis through the medium of the press and the radio.

Another secret report from U.P. accounts the explo-sion in Aligarh railway station of a powerful bomb which had been concealed in an ordinary trunk with the Congress campaign. Two constables and a coolie were killed. Other incidents were the usual disturb-ances. A bania who refused to pay Rs.1,500/- for Congress funds was shot dead. A servant of a shop-keeper who was taking Rs.50,000 was robbed of.

Cases of bomb outrages occurred at Science College, Nagpur, behind the house of the Superintendent of Police, Nagpur and a third in Akola during September. Wires were cut at several Places.

Another report says that the Congress workers are moving about in the guise of Sadhus inciting people not to pay fines and preaching anti-British propaganda.

According to Kesho Deo Malviya, General Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee who visited Meerut on September 23, there were two branches of the organisation during the disturbances - first a non-violent branch, second a revolutionary branch. He said that these two branches should be co-ordinated and that the revolutionary branch would be supplied with all necessities for carrying out their programme. Malaviya wanted that simultaneous action throughout the Province was necessary at an early date in order to force the British to negotiate with Congress before the Japanese came as there is no use changing masters.

XXX XXX XXX

From a secret letter dated 2.10.42 from H.J.Thom, A.I.G. Police U.P. to R.F. Mudie, Chief Secretary, U.P., it appears that the Government had strong suspicion of Dr. Gairolia's pro-Axis leanings, but it was the firm opinion of Thoms that Dr. Gairolia was actuated more of anti-British and pro-Congress motives than of pro-German feelings. He also expressed his concern about members of the educational staff in U.P. many of whom had pro-Congress leanings. Even in Banares Hindu University there are two Professors with equally strong contacts than Dr. Gairolia had, it may be argued that particularly in the case of Muslim Professors and in the case of Muslim University Aligarh, the same degree of suspicion need not be attached in respect of the Congress movement such as we have just experienced as of Hindu Professors in Hindu or mixed institutions.

An extract from the report from Bihar dated 7.10.42 describes the situation in Manbhum which has remained quiet for about two months have again shown signs of renewed activity and there was some violence and looting including attacks on three police stations. There is information about these plans being made by C.S.P. to resume sabotage of communications. Lohia seems to be quite active. The next para of the report writes about the activities of the Panchayat courts which continue to function in some localities. Three sentences appear to be barbarious. In Tarapur P.s. Monghyr 5 persons accused of theft had the fingers of their right hands cut off, two of these and another had one eye put out and another 5 were branded with a hot iron. In Gaya two burglers

were tried by one of these self-constituted courts in Kurta p.s., were condemned to death and killed on the spot.

According to a source report, office of the P.C.S. has been shifted from Allahabad to Banares where the students of the Kashi Vidya Pith with the assistance of Bindeshwari Prasad are said to be running the office, the latter disclosed in an informal talk. Jaleshwar Prasad acts as a link between the province and the district. According to unconfirmed reports Congress workers are trying to get explosive materials from Munni Kumbi, a well-known local terrorist who has gone on a visit to States like Rewa, Datia, Chatergarh.

In Bihar, according to a report dated 8.10.42 the leading socialist absconders Banawan Singh, a former labour leader and Shiam Nandan Singh, M.L.A Patna and Ram Manohar Lohia are the most active persons. It is believed that the Congress Socialists are trying to obtain money from Bombay.

XXX XXX XXX

An extract from the U.P. Aliens Branch, Secret Intelligence Report Lucknow of 10th October, 1942 reveals three instances of anti-government elements being at work in military units. It is certain that the subversive elements in the country are doing their best to win over the army and the police without whose co-operation they have been told they will not be able to achieve satisfactory results. Two instances have been reported. According to the present report in the 5th column note the three instances occurred at Allahabad in the 3rd Mt. Trg. Battalion when a driving inspector in the 3rd Mt. Centre over-heard Naik Shamrao Deshmukh and Sepoy Mohd. Hanif discussing a plan with 4 civilians to attack the Mt. Trg. Centre quarter guard and patrol pump. Later on the Naik deserted and Sepoy Hanif reported sick. The police on information arrested Deshmukh in a car along with 4 other persons of whom two were deserters from the Trg. Battalion and two civilians. Two daggers and a sword were recovered from the car besides bush-shirts in one of which two stars have been places on the shoulder-flaps. The interrogation revealed that the plan to attack a quarter guard generally made by

revolutionaries in Allahabad in connection with the Congress movement. The arrested Naik admitted to have been a Congress worker and later in January 1941 joined the army from which he deserted in March 1942 when ordered to go overseas, then he got himself enrolled again at poona and joined the Allahabad Mt. Training Battalion.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix IX

Gandhi Reiterates His View on Non-Violence

F.28/Cong/42-B.5

The following is the gist of some talks which some of the prominent leaders had with Gandhiji during the fast. It has been given here as reproduced from memory by the persons.

My idea about non-violence has undergone some change during recent months. I have an indication of it last year, even in some of my writings in Harijan. It has become more clear to me now.I have found a flaw in my old line of things. I used to feel that non-violence cannot go on while violence was practised at the same time by the people in the country. But during my six months here from what I could know and study, I have felt that the world is actually enveloped in violence today. And how was my non-violence to assert itself it were to wait on and on? It must therefore assert itself even if there may be violence going on around it. My non-violence, if it has the potency inherent in it such as I have claimed for it, must demonstrate itself in the very midst of worst violence running amuck all round. The people too must be able to demonstrate similarly in some form or other if they have really imbibed it, rather than following a prey to natural passion to return blow for blow, or in the alternative as happens in the majority of cases giving vent to the importent cursing swearing at the adversary. If they have not the non-violence of my conception in

their hearts they must offer such resistance as they feel they must. But there is no doubt that all men seeking deliverance must resist. They cannot lie low and submit to tyranny such as is being practised over the length and breadth of the country today. If they offer violent resistance, it must not be associated with the Congress or with my name, for it will be violation of truth.

I deplore violence in any shape or form whatever and under all circumstances as I have throughout of my life. It would be cruelest calumny to accuse me or the Congress for complicity in violence where-soever occurring after my arrest or of the leaders. The question of condemning does not arise. It is against my grain. I am not made that way. But this much I should not hesitate to say that even if some people offered violent resistance under the present conditions, what violence can it be, after all, against the ordered and as I have said the "leonine" violence of the government? It will be the violence of the mouse against the cat. And then again I simply cannot condemn the violence of the people committed under such conditions unless and until I have got an equal opportunity to condemn the much greater violence of the Government, practised in the name of Law and "Defence of India". I conceive of no greater violence to truty than the wilful campaign of calumny, the propaganda against me and against the Congress they are carrying on in the country and abroad. They do it with a set purpose. They have single aim of which they do not make a secret. They must win come what may. And they are determined to stop at nothing in achieving this end. For this if the Congress and the Congress leaders have to be crushed, surely they must be crushed, If truth must be gagged and outraged, well, it must be done without communication and with-out a flinch. If Gandhi and his rebel followers must be dealt with; if "black and "tan" has to be resorted to ; if the naked fascism has to run rampant, there need be no worry about it all. Linlithgow knows and says he has situation well in hand. He says Delhi will be looted 3 days 10 days 30 days but on the elst day I will again establish my government over the people. He has vast masses of hungry people whom he can hire. He has the princes to assist him . He has all the resources. He can bury me and the Congress leaders alive. But even if the Government do so,

even if they take us out of India and bury us somewhere, so long as I do not welcome, entertain violence within my breast I do not betray the cause of non-violence. And I must assert my non-violence in the last resort of a Satyagrahi, his infallible weapon. I want hundred thousand people to march on Viceroy's palace and desh their heads against its door-step, to commit "harakiri" in front of its gates, to allow themselves to be killed rather than tolerate the present stage of things. You have to end the fear of death. But even if the whole country - millions - were to give up the effort and surrender to the Government's violence I would still want to be one solitary resister who would refuse to be a witness to his countrymen surrendering and crawling before the tyrant and I would pit myself against him and his hoards in whatever condition I may be.

Note -

Some of the most important leaders from U.P. who were present near Poona soon after the fast, brought this impression of the talk to us. We appeal to the residents of U.P. to let no jewel in their crown of glories get tranished. As our province has ever maintained a brilliant record of sacrifices in all the C.D. movements similarly we trust that in the next phase when our Supreme Leader demands a lakh of men to die for the motherland, our contribution will still more glorify us. Let every man who gets this notice treat it as a personal invitation to that "Pran Yagna" and deem it has sacred duty to convey this to others. We hope that those ready to lay their lives at the command of Gandhiji, will submit their names to our workers in their locality so that they may be informed in time.

DO OR DIE

Issued by the U.P. Congress

———— ·X· ————

Appendix X

Plan to Occupy Delhi by Jai Prakash Narain and Others

F.28/Cong/42-D-V.I

(Extract from a statement of Asok Kumar Dutt originally resident of Barisal, Bengal, aged 18½ years, maternal uncle of Dr. B.C. Roy, grandson of Ashwani Kumar Dutt).

.....

"With great attention I listened to him about the plans of Jai Prakash Narain for country-wide sabotage work and the parts we had to play. The long awaited programme of the AICC was unfolded to me. I was thrilled when Patnaik told me that I would have to take up the charge of a work ranging throughout India. For about four hours he explained to me the proposals of Jai Prakash Narain, which had been passed unanimously in the AICC meeting held in Delhi. Jai Prakash Narain, short J.P.N., had proposed the formation of guerilla fighting bands in India to do sabotage work. I was struck dumb when I heard that a pact had been made between the Congres and some Indian officers of the army. In a nut shell the functions of the guerilla bands were to assist the military people at the fixed time when the Indian soldiers would revolt against the British Government. So there were two sections to work simultaneously - the guerilla fighting hands and the Indian section of the military. Patnaik said that I was to work with the guerilla fighting bands.

The main object of both the sections was to prepare and organise for a revolution. Side by side with the organisation carried on by the Indian military officers in their section, we would have to form these guerilla units on a countrywide scale. After preparations which would take a full one year as planned by Jai Prakash Narain the task of the guerilla fighting units would be to cut off the Capital of India from all sides. Delhi is the General Headquarters of the military from where the orders are generally issued. Naturally if Delhi was cut off from the outside world no orders could be sent out from the military headquarters. This was important from

military point of view. Besides this there were some other considerations too. Delhi is also the seat of the Government where the Viceroy with the help of the favoured few of New Delhi decides the ways to administer the whole country. The capital of every country is very important from the various points of view. So it was the main target to be attacked. The guerilla bands would cut off all the communications, railway lines and motor roads, joining Delhi from outside. The Indian soldiers inside Delhi would rise and begin mopping up operations inside the city where the British soldiers are kept. Delhi could be occupied thus. Simultaneous actions would begin at North Western Frontier Province, Bengal, Assam and Bombay. Indian soldiers outside Delhi would fight against the British reinforcements which would try to run through the blockade around Delhi, trying to help the British forces inside Delhi. Public would also take up arms and begin killing the Britishers in the city and beginning a real revolution. Thus fighting would begin at the important military zones like NWFP, Bengal, Assam and Delhi. Jai Prakash Narain pointed out, according to Patnaik, that even with the help of Americans and Australian soldiers the revolution would not be brought under control once it was spread amongst the masses.

I had not the slightest idea when and there the pact was made. I knew of the AICC meeting but I did not know where the meetings were held. There was no reason to disbelieve Patnaik. I knew what was the true feeling of every Indian in his heart whether he was as an army officer or a civilian. It did not surprise me much. It was perhaps the first time in the history of India when such a pact was made between the Congress and the army. On enquiries from Patnaik I came to know that the discontented Indian soldiers were not fully organised and it would require at least a year to organise them under the able leadership of the high Indian military officers who had combined together. Our duty was to raise the guerilla bands and train and equip them properly in the meantime. Patnaik said that under his supervision I would begin forming these guerilla bands in Delhi, which would be the headquarters of our National Militia too. After establishing one centre in Delhi I would have to go out to form other similar centres in the places like Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Bombay, etc. for full one year workers would be trained through the centres and be prepared to strike at their

scheduled time. My duty was actually to get things ready for the seizure of Delhi and supervise the centres of the training for that. Patnaik was to give me necessary instructions and would be my contact with the army officers and Jai Prakash Narain.

Regarding the guerilla fighting bands Jai Prakash Narain had proposed forming small bands of students who would be trained to cut off the communications. He did not enter into much details and left it to be chalked out by Patnaik. Patnaik told me what he thought of the formation of these inits. He said that he would begin giving training to myself, Bahuguna and Bishen and we three sould consist of shooting, motor driving, bayonetting with some knowledge of electricity, metallurgy, explosives, First Aid, etc. Patnaik thought of forming each band consisting of ten men in which two must be crack-shots and two drivers under the leadership of one of their comrades. Besides this all of the men must get full training of shooting, etc. as mentioned above. The military people would supply the necessary equipment. Each band would require rifles, special instruments for the derail-ments and explosives. Apart from these important requirements, the other things like motor cars could be arranged as these were available if paid for in the market. The boys would be taught guerilla fighting tactics of blocking the roads, derailing the trains and blowing up the bridges. These important items of the training were to be taught to three of us first as only a military expert could give such training whose name it was desirable, should not be disclosed to others. The military officer was to be arranged by Patnaik. We, after getting the training, would go out of Delhi to other centres and train the leaders of each centre only and the leaders after train-ing would train other boys in their turn. Completing this round of training I would come back to Delhi, the main headquarters, and be in touch with all the centres for supervision. While carrying on the train-ing, the boys should also go out for actions of sabotage to get experience. It would also keep the Congress movement on. The information regarding the targets to be attempted would be supplied to the guerilla bands by Patnaik. The exact time and position would be conveyed to the units which would derail the military trains only during the year

of preparation. Only after careful watching and planning the boys should be sent out for actions. Patnaik and myself would secretly and carefully plan attacks on the targets and the action would be carried out under our instructions by the platoon we select at the fixed time. The idea was that Patnaik and myself were to see and watch the targets ourselves in order to take all the precautions so that the boys may not be caught. There was no necessity of telling all the boys about India-wide preparation so that it might not leak out making the Government aware. All the platoons would be self-sufficient concerning money and materials. There would be no contact between the different platoons; only Patnaik and myself. Bahuguna would be in contact with all the platoon leaders in Delhi, while Bishen would supervise the training of the boys. We would receive all the reports from the other centres and pay attention to their complaints and difficulties. At that time Patnaik wanted to open centres at Bombay, Calcutta and at Ahmedabad. Two responsible men would take charge of each centre who had nothing to do with the Congress before so that they may remain unmarked by the police. They would be in contact with the headquarters.

Jai Prakash Narain was supervising the military preparations, finance and arranging temporary sabotage works through India. Achyut Patwardhan had gone to Assam for the same purpose while Dr.Ram Manohar Lohia was in the North Western Frontier Province trying to raise an armed force consisting of the Red Shirts and the other frontier tribesmen. All of them were busy and had no time to look after the guerilla bands. Moreover they could not visit all the Places frequently as there were chances of their being caught. I believe that Patnaik was selected to supervise the centres of the guerilla bands because he could go and see the centres off and on when he was on his flying duties. Apart from that only very few of the reliable workers knew that Patnaik was working with the Congress.

Patnaik selected me to work under him because he did not want to come in contact with all the workers and as he was on his duties frequently he could not look after the affairs properly. He required a man who could work day and night organising and supervising the whole programme. My name was suggested by Mrs.

Asaf Ali to jai Prakash Narain who approved of it. Perhaps Mrs.Asaf Ali told him that I could be relied upon.

The task of the official Congress consisting of Mrs.Asaf Ali, Mrs. Suchita Kripalani and other was to help us by money and reliable workers. Except this we would not have any connection with the Congress. it was always wise to avoid meeting the people who were absconding which invited troubles to ourselves. Patanik thought that we would require about 2½ lakhs of rupees to open centres at the four places namely Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad. The Congress had promised to give us the sum. All the platoon leaders would be given separate funds to avoid complication and of course they would give us the accounts of the money. The same principles as mentioned above would be followed at the other three centres besides Delhi. According to Patnaik we would require eight hundred men at least to do the action at Delhi".

A.K. Dutt gladly accepted offer of this work and agreed to work outside Delhi as and when required. Before leaving was given by Patnaik papers containing J.P.N.'s scheme and told to study it and write down any further suggestions he (Dutt) might like to make.

At his house on 1.1.43 studied the papers (ten pages) given to him by Patnaik and regarding this states as follows:-

"The things told by Patnaik were written there including the plan of attacking Delhi. Jai Prakash Narain in his plan of seizing Delhi had proposed to begin the attack by the guerilla platoons. The first step of the platoon would be to cut off all the communications and then enter Delhi city. The policy followed by the sabotage workers till then was "hit and run" but when the real attack would begin that policy would not be followed as in case, taking the darkest side, the Indian military could not rise the guerilla platoons would have to carry on the mopping up operations to occupy the city. In any case even if the military revolted, the men of the guerilla platoons would have to fight on the streets, against the small bands of British soldiers who stay at various spots in Delhi due to lack of accommodation inside the Red Fort of Cantonment while the Indian soldiers launch their main attack on Contonments, Red Fort, etc. A section

of the platoon would also destroy the wireless stations so that the local garrison could not send out any messages. Jai Prakash Narain believed that within two days after beginning the attack the public would also begin indiscriminate massacre of the Britishers. He particularly mentioned about the mill workers of the Delhi Cloth Mills and Birla Mills who were already organised and would take part actively in the fighting. He had advised the military officers even if they could not revolt, they should organise the soldiers only to refuse help to the Britishers at the time of emergency when the guerilla platoons launch their attacks simultaneously and systematically. He wrote in his plan that the local police would not be a great obstacle as they could be corrupted. When the local police had found the military soldiers revolting, he was sure that the armed police numbering a couple of hundred would not take up arms against us. A vacunm would be created in India due to the simultaneous rising at the different frontiers which would be extremely difficult for the Government to control at such a critical juncture of time when the Japanese forces were steadily pouring in on the Eastern Frontier of India. Jai Prakash Narain had written a note (type-written) giving his own ideas about the actions likely to be taken by Whitehall after the beginning of the revolution. He said that as soon as the programme matured the Government would release the leaders and would try to make a compromise. Still he made a further plan as a precautionary measure if the Government did not stoop down to any pact. He suggested that the army of the Red Shirts from the Frontier Province with the help of the other tribesmen consisting of several thousand well trained soldiers would begin marching towards Punjab while the guerilla platoons of the different provinces including Delhi would begin also similar marches towards the occupied places. He was sure that their marches would be easy due to the lack of resistance from the British forces at several points. Moreover in the meantime the people in their excitement were also likely to begin fighting and harassing the British soldiers from behind their positions. Regarding the air force he had suggested to get more Indian young men enlisted to revolt there. The Indian Air Force would also try to help the army by bombing British positions if necessary. If this was not possible then he asked the officers

of the Air force, in his plan, to destroy the planes in case the British people had thought of using them. Similar suggestions he made in his plan to the officers of the nevy also. It was easy to organise a meeting in the ships as there was always the danger of the ships being scuttled. But all the officers of the army, navy and air force should try their best to imprison the White Officers and take up the command instead of destroying the valuable and expensive aeroplanes and ships of war. Considering all the pros and cons of the plan, it was the only one which could have much effect on the Government and could be carried out successfully under the present circumstances prevailing in India. The actions were aimed at the most important places only in order to make it swift and effective. No attention was given to Southern India perhaps because it had not much importance, from the military point of view. Like the functions of the army, navy and air force, the main object of the platoons should be to imprison the Britishers as far as they could avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Pointing out the presence of the American soldiers also Jai Prakash Narain had written in his plan that the Indian soldiers should be reinforced before starting the operations or to keep the reinforcements ready near Delhi so that they could join their comrades inside the city in no time.

Appendix XI

P.C. Joshi's Comments on Congress Movement

F.28/Cong/42-B-IV

The Communist Party of India declared the proposed Congress Satyagraha inopportune and harmful to the cause of Indian Independence at the present time. The imprisonment of Congress leaders and others would broadcast to the world that the Movement has been inspired by a 5th column tendency and thus assist the Japanese. P.C. Joshi, however, commented on the arrest of the Congress leaders "the insolent imperialist have struck the first blow. The Congress kept the door

for negotiations open. The bureaucratic government has answered it with the arrest of the entire national leadership and worse. The government is the provocateur, it has let loose force of anarchy and in this utter blindness it seeks to create an anti-national, anti-Congress front... We Communists firmly believe that the lead for struggle given by the Working Committee was not the path of national struggle but of national suicide. Nevertheless, the national leadership backed by the vote of AICC had expressed its eagerness to strive for settlement to the very last moment. It is insolent alien government that has perpetrated the Movement.... We must foil the Government's game of forming of anti-Congress front. The united voice demands immediate release of Congress leaders and starting of negotiations to meet India's national demand.

A secret report from Mymensingh states that the local communists have received instructions from the Bengal Committee to keep out of Gandhi's Movement because it would impede the war efforts of the allied nations which they have pledged themselves to support unconditionally. The District Congress Committee has taken disciplinary action against 2 communists. On the other hand, in one place in this district a communist lead a procession of about 50 persons shouting Congress slogans. While in Faridpur students communists joined in picketing schools and holding protest meetings, at Jessore and at Rangpur they do not. At Nadia they dislike the CPI's stand. In Calcutta, students communist organised meetings of protest and some minor communists made some speeches. Some of them were heckled as traitors by Congress workers.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XII

Role of Jugantar and Anushilan Groups

F.24/Cong/42-V

Jugantar group seems to have fully participated in the Movement launched by the Congress. Secret commi-

ttees were formed of 3 members in each sub-division to be in charge of the Congress Movement. The members were of the view that would not hesitate to use arms against the police if the latter adopted repressive measures. Bhupati Charan Majumdar, Advaita Charan Datta and Bhupendra Majumdar were the most active workers. Sudhir Kumar Ghosh took upon himself the task of creating unrest among the labourers of different mills and factories and was assured of cooperation from the labour leaders of Jamshedpur, Burn Pur and the Kesho Ram Cotton Mills. He is also reported to have obtained chemicals with which to make bombs to burn and kill Europeans in general and police seargents in particular and to spread the Movement in rural areas. An appeal to officers of the D.I.B. not to do their duty by deleting passages in his letter that conveyed instructions to party members outside jail were made by security prisoner Arun Guha in a letter to a friend. He said that a fund had been opened for giving financial help to any police official who lost his job through patriotic disobedience of orders. P.C. Biswas was sent to Chittagong to organise the Movement there. It was hinted that the regular running of the Chittagong Mail reflected little credit on the Chittagong party. Sri Sangha, another revolutionary group on receipt of instructions from the security prisoners Anil Ray, head of the Sri Sangha who was able to smuggle out his instructions from the Alipore Central Jail advised his followers to join the Movement, attacks the D.I.B. Office, post offices and telephone exchanges and go underground. The members of the Anushilan Group, leading figures of which were Sachindra Chakrabartti and Birendra Garguli, issued instructions that their followers should join the Movement. Members of this party were connected with the raid on the Munsif's court at Dacca on August 13, and molestation of officers of D.I.B. of Dacca. In Barisal, Faridpur, Murshidabad, Hoogli, Rangpur, Cooch Bihar, the members of the Samiti organised the bringing out of students from schools, burning and locting of police stations, railway stations, leaflet distribution and other such acts. The Bolshevik Party of India and Bengal Labour Party decided in a secret meeting that they would organise processions of labourers and students to protest against the arrest of Congress but would not indulge in any rowdyism. In a resolution they denounced the policy of both

the Government and the Congress and urged them to find some solution of the problem. The Bengal Labour Association, however, fully supported the Congress stand and intended to foment strikes in schools and colleges.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XIII

Jai Prakash Narayan's Call to American Soldiers and Officers

F.28/Cong/42.B.III

To American Soldiers and Officers

Friends,

I address you as one who loves America only next to his own Motherland. I spent the best part of my youth in your great country and seven of my life's happiest years. I went there as a student and learnt much not only from its universities but also from its factories and farms where I worked as an ordinary labourer in order to pay way through college. Having studied at California, Iowa and Wisc-onsin, I finally graduated from Ohio. There may be men among you from these universities. To such of you, I send my fraternal greetings.

I address you further as one who loves freedom and is prepared as you are, to lay down his life for it. And also as a socialist who believes that under socialism alone can war be banished from society and four freedoms secured which your President has defined, as major objectives of the peace that is to follow this war.

I address you also as a prisoner of war who has just exercised his right to escape from the enemy. I recently escaped from the Hazaribagh Central Prison so that I may serve the cause of freedom more actively. The enemy - I mean the British imperialist government has set an award for my arrest asif I were a criminal run away from justice. Surely, every one of you, if

a prisoner of war and given the chance, would run away from your enemy's camp; and your ccmrades and your countrymen would rightly look upon you as a hero. I am no hero and yet I am not a criminal. I wish merely to work for the freedom of my people.

Too many men in the world are fighting and dying today for freedom. But I am afraid this word freedom has become too abstract and devoid of substance, too undefined and vague. For me freedom is not an airy ideal to be talked about in radio broadcasts, but a concrete object.

First of all and most of all it means the freedom of my country - the freedom of four hundred millions of people from British rule.

You are soldiers of freedom and you have been brought into close touch of my country. It is, therefore, essential that you understood and appreciated our fight for freedom.

You are all acquainted with Nazi lies. Dr. Goebbels has become synonymous with lying. But, perhaps, you are not acquinted with a far subtler and refined tradition of lying imperialist lying, of which Churchill, Halifax, Amery & Co. are the brilliant priest exponents. If you have bothered at all about India, you must have been told two tremendous lies. The first that Britain holds India down only to educate and train her in the arts of self-government, and will continue to do so only until such time as she is able properly to look after herself. The second that Britain is prepared to free India immediately if Indians united among themselves. No greater lies were ever uttered in history. But these are not new lies like those of Goebbels, nor do they come from the mouth of lies like those of Goebbels, nor do they come from the mouth of upstart Nazi rulers. Therefore they do not grate upon your ears. They have the prestige of age and tradition they have the gloss of British culture, they are mouthed by noble lords and aristocrats of wealth, poetry and literature, learning and science have sanctified them until we witness today the strange spectacle of even the most emancipated British minds failing to transcend their limits.

It is an insult to the intelligence of any but a moron to say imperialisms are founded to train "back-

ward" peoples in the arts of self-government. Empires, as you know, are founded to loot and to rob and to exploit. And the amount of British loot and exploitation in India wouldstagger even you who are accustomed to the astronomical figures of your national budgets.

Before Britain enslaved her, India was a free country. She did not have to learn the art of self-government from anybody. If at that moment the country was torn with the wars that was no more evidence of the unfitness of the people to govern themselves than the much too frequent and far more bloody wards of Europe prove that the continent, with its islands, is ready to be taught a lesson in self-government by, let us say, the United States of America. First to destroy the freedom of a nation and then to claim to train the enslaved in the arts of freedom is such a process of historic perversion that only the masters of empire-building can venture to father it.

And how have the British been training us in the arts of self-government? They have been here now for 150 to 200 years. In less than that period your great country, after it freed itself from a similar tutorship of the same power has been able to transform itself from a disunited collection of backward colonies into the mightiest and most advanced nation of the world. While you can see for yourself what the British tutors have done to us in a longer period of time. Not more than the ten percent of the economic resource of the country has been developed. Even during three years of this total war you can see for yourself what progress the country has made under British tutelege in production for war. This has been so scandalous that the Government of India did not even dare publish the reports of the American Technical Mission which investigated under Dr. Grady certain matters of industrial production. So anxious indeed have the British rulers been for our progress that every little progress political, economic, educational has been made in the teeth of their opposition and after great agitation and often bitter struggle. The bitterest struggle of all, and the last, is on to win our total emancipation from the British strangle-hold.

The other statement about the preparedness of Britain to grant Indian freedom is of a piece with the first. Much has been made of the Cripps mission and the Cripps offer. But what did Cripps offer? A so-called status

of freedom, that was hemmed in by important limitations, at the end of the war and nothing absolutely nothing at present and still the war lasts. India is not interested in promises. She wanted immediate freedom. To this the imperialist propagandist answer, "We shall give you freedom if you but unite."

First of all, what justification can a nation have for keeping a people enslaved just because it is divided? If two brothers fight, is a robber in entering their home and taking possession of it? The British are in the position of the robber. Suppose Hindus and Muslims do fight, does that justify the British in marching into our home and occupying them? The plea that if one robber did not take possession of a divided house another would, is an argument that appeals to robber minds alone. No decent man would burgle and unguarded house on the plea that if he did not another burgler might do so.

But the argument is not even true. The British are not prepared to hand over real power - unity or no unity - to Indian hands. During the Cripps negotiations it was clear without any doubts that even if there were complete unity in India, as the British conceive, the rule of the Viceroy in Council could not be replaced by that of a cabinet, responsible ultimately to the Indian people. Sir Stafford Cripps made it plain to the Congress that if a national government ever formed the members of that government would be free to resign if the Viceroy disagreed with their policy. In other words, the measures of freedom the British government was offering us - and the offer we are told still remain - was the freedom which the people's accredited representatives were to have to resign their office in case the Viceroy's will, representing the will of the Indian people.' You can see what a tremendous lot of freedom that is.

The question of Indian unity has nothing to do with the subject. It has been raised merely to sidetrack the issue. The real issue is : is Britain prepared to liquidate her empire? The answer of the Cripps mission was a clear no. The same answer was repeated by Mr. Churchill himself when he recently announced that he had not assumed the office of the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire.

The test of Britain's preparedness to free India is what she is prepared to do in the present and not in the liberality of her promises. It is easy to make promises and war is just the occasion when the ruling class of every nation is most liberal with them. You know what happened to the promises made during the last war. No better fortune awaits the promises of the present war. If after it we have a better world to live in, it will not be the result of the promises of the present rulers of the world, but of the efforts you and I - the common men of the world - will make and are making.

I shall give you two further instances to show the enormity of British lies. For this let us turn from the government of India to the Government of the Province. Much has been made by the British Statesmen of the fact that several Provinces of India are still being self-governed. But do you know what sort of self-government there is in these Provinces? The Premier Premier of Sind, Mr. Allan Bux, was recently dismissed by the Governor of the Province. What was his offence? He renounced his title of a Khan Bahadur and wrote a letter to the Viceroy, which he published, in protest against the present policy of the British Government in India. That was a sufficient ground for a Governor to dismiss the Prime Minister of a Province who enjoyed the confidence of his assembly and his people. In the great Province of Bengal, one of the ablest and most popular ministers Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, recently resigned his office in protest against the interference of the Governor with the administration of the Province and with the polices of the Ministry. In a public statement he described Provincial Autonomy as a complete face .

Now, the British say that they only require unity in India to give her freedom. Well, there was unity in Bengal and Sind - all communities were joined in supporting the ministries. If there were opposition parties, they were only such as must exist in any democratic system. Why was, then, self-government not permitted in even these narrow spheres of Provincial administration? No more proof, I hope, is necessary to show that Britain is not prepared ever willingly to surrender her Empire.

Under these circumstances what are we to do? India as a whole is opposed to Nazism and Fascism. The

Indian National Congress and the Indian Socialist movement, as represented by my party, the All India Socialist Party, have declared it times without number that they remain ever-lastingly opposed to these brutal systems. Before the beginning of the war and before many of the so-called democratic nations had decided to take a stand against Fascism, both Nationalist and Socialist India lined up with republican Spain and Chiang' Republican China against Germany, Italy and Japan. Had India been free then, she would no doubt have played a great part in that international crisis; and it is possible that her intervention might have even prevented this world-war, or at least its spread to Asia. Free India and Free China would be a great guarantee against any aggression and had these two ancient nations been free to work together, the history of our times might have been differently written.

But while we are consistent and total opponents of Fascism, we are also total opponents of imperialism. We are not prepared to live any longer under its subjection, and we are determined to destroy it root and branch. At a time particularly when a world-war is said to have been fought to liberate oppressed peoples, we cannot but fight for our own liberation. We need offer no one any apologies nor explanations as to why we long for freedom and why we fight to acquire it.

You may perhaps be troubled by the consideration that our fight with the British might weaken the United Nations war against the Axis. If this is so, the responsibility is not only ours to consider the problem. It is for the United Nations also to give active thought to it. For our part, we do not wish to emberrass or create difficulties for the United Nations. But we cannot help if our war of liberation comes in the way. If it does, it is not our fault. but theirs. They claim to be fighting to restore freedom to humanity; why should the liberation of one-fifth of humanity come in their way? If the United Nations are truly fighting for the aims they profess, then the Indian struggle for freedom should not hinder but help them. If it hinders them, it is only proof of the fact that the basis of their war is false; that there is dire discrepancy between their words and deeds, and ideals and practice. Our struggle

would, therefore, render an incidental service to the United Nations by forcing them to bring their deeds to accord with their professions, thereby ensuring a juster peace.

I, therefore, appeal to you as soldiers of freedom to support us in our struggle for freedom. You can support us in three ways. First by refusing to take any part in Britain's Fascist war against us. Perhaps your government itself has issued instructions to this effect. Second by letting your countrymen, your leaders and your government know the real truth about India. You are in our midst and are in a position to tell folks on the other side the true state of affairs here. By enlisting the support of your country in our favour, you further the great objective for which you are prepared to sacrifice your lives. Third, by speaking to the British soldiers and officers and explaining to them the reality about India. The British soldier is a brave and honest man, and if facts are placed before him, he would not fail to realise the justice of our cause. At present he is filled with intense prejudice and racehatred and with ignorance about India. As such he harms himself and his cause as much as he harms us. Most of the British soldiers are common working people, and as such themselves the victims of their imperialist exploiters. It is essential for them to realise that our cause is their cause too, for unless the Empire is broken and destroyed, the British people themselves would not be freed from exploitation and poverty. In England there is much talk of new social order after the war; and our soldier has faith in that future, but no new order can be built upon the old foundation of empire.

Therefore, tell the Britishmen that if they are fighting for a better world where wealth and opportunity, power and prestige, education and culture, and the good things of life shall be more rationally and equitably distributed, then they are going about it the wrong way, if they shoot innocent women and children, burn and loot houses and try to crush in other Fascist ways the greatest fight for freedom that ever stirred this old Asiatic contine. Tell them that we do not wish to fight them or harm them, nor do we wish any evil to the British people. We merely wish to fight the empire and destroy it, because it is the enemy of our freedom and happiness and prosperity. Tell

them also that after we are free we shall march shoulder to shoulder with them in an assault on all kinds of oppression and brutality - Nazi, Imperialist, Capitalist. Only then we would build a new world order. Tell them finally to open out their minds and to think for themselves. If they continued blindly and meekly to gulp down any mush that their rulers feed them with, they would have fought and died in vain, for their children would inherit the same vicious world of tyranny and inequality, poverty and misery, wars and armaments.

This friends is in brief my appeal. I hope it will find its way to your hearts.

Long live the cause of Freedom!
Long live the Indian Revolution!

Sd/- Jayaprakash Narayan
General Secretary
All India Congress
Socialist Party.

Somewhere in India.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XIV

List of Congress Detenus in the C.P. & Berar

F.28/Cong/42-C-II

(i) MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

1. Brijlal Biyani (AICC)
2. Seth Govinddas
3. Seth Sheodas Daga (AICC)
4. Waman Rao Joshi

(ii) Forward Bloc Members

1. R.S. Ruiker
2. L.M. Wakhre
3. P.K. Tare
4. Satyanarayan Bajaj
5. P.P. Goshar
6. S.G. Patwardhan

(iii) Ex-Ministers and others who have been in personal touch with the Congress Working Committee

1. Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla (AICC)
2. Pandit D.P. Mishra "
3. Pandit D.K. Mehta "
4. C.J. Bharuka
5. Thakur Chhedilal " (M.L.A.)

(iv) Members of the All-India Congress Committee

(a) Of more than local importance

1. Seth Poonamchand Ranka
2. V.S. Dandekar (H.R.A.) (Congress Socialist Party)
3. Niranjan Singh Jat (H.R.A.).

(b) Of only local importance

1. Narayanrao Narel
2. K.P. Pande (M.L.A.)
3. Sawaimal Jain
4. Raghunathsingh Killedar
5. Mahesh Dutta Mishra
6. B.A. Mandloi
7. Yati Yatanlal
8. Ram Gopal Tiwari
9. P.R. Dongaonkar
10. P.K. Deshmukh
11. B.J. Deshmukh

(v) CONGRESS FINANCIERS (not included under other heads)

1. Mahant Laxminarayan Das (AICC)
2. Chaturbuj Jasani (AICC)
3. Shantilal Mashruwala

(vi) Personal followers of Mr. Gandhi

1. Vinoba Bhave
2. Kishorilal Mashruwala
3. Shrikrishnadas Jaju
4. Bharatan Kumarappa
5. Shrikrishna Das Gandhi
6. Gopalrao Valunjkar
7. Kashinath Trivedi
8. Gopalrao Kale
9. Kaka Kalelkar
10. S.T. Dharmadikari
11. S.N. Agarwal

(vii) Provincial M.L.A's of more than district importance (not included in other categories)

1. Beharilal Patel
2. V.V. Subhedar
3. Amarsingh Saigal
4. P.D. Jatar

(viii) Others

1. Ramsingh Gour (H.R.A.)
2. M.R. Awari
3. M.S. Kannamwar
4. Hukumchand Jain
5. G.S. Agnihotri
6. Gopalrao Khedkar
7. L.S. Kashikar
8. D.L.K. Shastri

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XV

Guidelines on 'Guerilla Warfare'

F.28/Cong/42-B.5

Copy of a hand-written pamphlet on "Guerilla Warfare".

1. A guerilla should take an oath that he will not let leak out anything about his other workers until his death.
2. He should be very punctual in everything, e.g. meetings, operations etc.
3. A guerilla is that who does not let the public know that he is a guerilla otherwise the word "Guerilla" is meaningless for him.
4. He should have confidence among his comrades.
5. He should be a good runner, so that while failing in his operation he may run and save himself.
6. He should have military training full.

Training (Military)

1. A guerilla should have very fine aiming. That

can be done by taking artificial revolver, put some pieces of stone. Make a target on a paper and hang on the wall and start aiming by taking different positions. After that he should learn gun firing. It is better if he starts with ordinary rifle. Afterwards he should learn about Luice Machine gun, light machine gun, revolver shooting.

2. Use of hand grandes.
3. Throwing bombs by 2" mortar gun and 3" mortar gun.
4. Tank destruction. Preparation of solution which destroys the tank. Constituents of the solution are:

(1) Petrol	15%)	
(2) Creosote	65%)	Put this solution in
(3) Paraffin	5%)	blue bottle
(4) Kerosine oil	15%)	

5. Use of gun cotton - Generally it is of white colour and a slab in formation having 4" length, 2" breadth and 1½" thickness.

Blowing up of Bridges, Houses, blocking the ways by trees.

6. Bayonet practice
7. Field Craft
8. Night operations

Guerilla war-fare

1. Equipment

A lathi of 4 ft. in length where one end is mounted by iron having two hooks at the ends of mounted end. One spear whose both edges are sharpened. Some pieces of string, a dagger.

2. Practice of creeping walk
3. Scouting
4. How to count the number of soldiers walking in threes (with the co-operation of villagers of the place where they are going)

(a) In the disguise of a fruit seller
(b) " " " beggar
(c) " " " farmer etc.

5. How to attack the Ammunition Car of the soldiers coming behind them.

   (a) Party of scouts
   (b) Attacking party
   (c) Defensive party etc.

6. Blocking up the ways of military men.

   (a) By dropping trees (by means of ropes)
   (b) By creating great obstruction due to bricks

7. Poisoning the water of the place where the camps of the enemy are being pitched.

8. Night attack over the forces when they have captured a town. The strength of the forces may be anything.

(Function of only 9 guerillas)

9. Taking the forces in our concentration camp.

10. Cutting off their wireless connections with the forces that have gone ahead.

11. How to release ourselves from enemy's concertration camp.
   (1) At night (opportunities)
   (2) While going to pass urine or latrine.

12. To make ourselves acquainted with different voices of different animals.

13. How to make disturbance in a regiment (at night) by throwing bombs or the explosive mixture of the same type.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XVI

Jai Prakash Narayan Deplores Lack of Programme after Initial Successes

F.28/Cong/42-B III

TO ALL FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM
Revolutionary Greetings

Comrades,

Let me first of all offer you and those comrades who have been made prisoners of war my heartiest

congratulation on the magnificent battle already given to the enemy. Nothing like it ever happened or was expected to happen in this our long suffering and suppressed country.

It truly was the "open rebellion" envisaged by our incomparable leader Mahatma Gandhi.

The Rebellion, no doubt, seems to have been suppressed for the moment. But I hope you will agree with me that it has been suppressed only for the moment. This should cause us no surprise. As a matter of fact, had the very first assault been successful and had it completely crushed imperialism, that in reality would have been a matter for surprise. The very fact that the enemy himself has admitted that the Rebellion came pretty near destroying his power, somehow successful was the first phase of our National Revolution.

And how was the first phase suppressed? Was it the military power of the enemy, his unmitigated reign of goondaism, looting, arson and murder that did the job? No. It is wrong to consider the "Revolt" as having been "suppressed". The history of all Revolutions shows that a Revolution is not an even. It is a phase, a social process. And during the Evolution of a Revolution tides and abbs are normal. Our Revolution is at present going through the period of low water, so soon rather than rise to higher heights and go from Victory to Victory, not because the superior physical force of the Imperialist aggressors intervened, but because of two important reasons.

Firstly there was no efficient organisation (of) the national Revolutionary forces that could function (and) give effective lead to the mighty forces that were released. The Congress, though a great organisation, was not tuned to the pitch to which the Revolution was to rise. The lack of organisation was so considerable that even important Congressmen were not aware of the progress of the Revolt, and till late in course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in many Congress quarters whether what the people were doing was really in accordance with the Congress programme. In the same connection should be metioned the regrettable fact that quite a considerable number of influential Congressmen failed to attune their mental attitude to spirit of this "last fight for Freedom". The earnestness, the urgency, the determina-

tion that marked the attitude of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad or Sardar Patel failed to reflect in the minds and hearts of all congress leaders.

Secondly, after the first phase of the rising was over there was no further programme placed before the people. After they had completely destroyed the British Raj in their areas, the people considered their task fulfilled, and went back to their homes not knowing what more to do. Nor was it their fault. The failure was ours: we should have supplied them with a programme for the next phase. When this was not done, the Revolt came to a standstill and the phase of the ebb began. This situation was created many days before the British soldiers arrived in sufficient numbers to push back yet further the receding works of the revolt. What programme should have been placed before the people in the second phase? The answer is suggested by the nature of Revolutions. A revolution is not only a destructive process, it is at the same time a great constructive force. No Revolution could succeed if it only destroyed. If it should survive, it must create an authority to replace the one it has destroyed. Our Revolution too having accomplished over large territories of the country the negative task of destruction, called for a positive programme. The people who destroyed the objects and means of administration of the foreign power and drove away its agents should have set up in their areas their own units of Revolutionary Government and created their own police and militia. Had this been done, it would have released such an unprecedented volume of energy and opened up such a vast field for constructive work that the waves of the Revolution would have mounted higher and higher till - if the rising was country wide - the imperialist power had been broken and the people had seized supreme authority throughout the land.

The lack of efficient organisation and of a complete programme of National Revolution: those were two causes of the downward course of the first phase of the present revolution.

The question now is what are our present tasks? First, to banish all depression from our minds and those of the people, and create an atmosphere of joy instead of the success achieved and of hope for success in the future.

Second, we must keep steadfastly before our minds and of the people the nature of this Revolution. It is our last fight for freedom. Our objective can, therefore, be nothing but victory. There can be no half way houses. The efforts that men like Rajgopalachari are making for the establishment of National government are not only fruitless but positively harmful in as much as they distract public attention from the real issues. There is no compromise, between the slogans of "Quit India" and of a "national government". These who are running after the slogan of Congress-League unity are merely serving the ends of imperialist propaganda. It is not the lack of unity that is obstructing the formation of a national government, but the natural unwillingness of imperialism to liquidate itself. Mr. Churchill left no manner of doubt about it, when he declared recently that he had not assumed the office of the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. He would be a foolish student of society indeed who expected empires to wither away of their own accord. Those erstwhile "revolutionaries" who are attempting today to wish away the Indian Empire by the cataclyamic force of humble memorials are making of themselves the most pitiable fools of history.

It is not the unity of all the important elements in Indian life, to quote the imperialist jargon, that is the need of the hour but the unity of all the national revolutionary forces. And these are already united under the flag of the Congress. Unity between the League and the Congress does not foreshadow the growth of these forces, but their absolute relation, for the League cannot conceivably tread the path of revolution and freedom.

The complete overthrow of imperialism, then, is our objective and we must keep this steadfastly in view. There can be no compromise on this issue. Either we win or we loss. And lose we shall not. Not only because we are determined ceaselessly to work for victory, but also because powerful world forces are drawing the doom of imperialism and fascism over nearer and nearer. Do not believe that the formal results of this war settled laboriously at the Peace Conference would settle the fate of the post-war world. War is a strange alchemist, and in its hidden chambers are such forces and powers brewed and distilled that they

tear down the plans of the victorious and vanquished alike. No peace conference at the end of the last war decided that four mighty empires of Europe and Asia should fall into dust - the Russian, the German, the Austrian and Ottoman. Nor, was the Russian, the German, the Turkish Revolution decreed by Lloyd Goorge, Clemenceau or Wilson.

Throughout the world where men are fighting, dying and suffering today, the alchemist is at work, just as he is in India, where he has already let loose a mighty social upheavel. Neither Churchill nor Roosvelt, neither Hitler nor Tojo will determine the fate of the world at the end of this war. It is force such as we represent that will fulfil that historic task. Can we doubt that revolutionary forces are stirring every where? Can we believe that millions of people are undergoing unutterable suffering without a thought for the future? Can we believe that millions are satisfied with the lies that their rulers daily feed them with. No, it cannot be so.

Having therefore definitely fixed our vision on the goal of total victory, we have to march ahead. What concretely must we do? What does a general do when he loses or wins a battle? Rommel stopped at El Alamein after his great victory to consolidate and prepare. Alexander too prepared and he turned his serious defeat into a resounding victory. Ours was not even a defeat. We really won the first round of the fight in as much as our large territories of the country was civil rule of the British aggressor was completely uprooted. The masses have now learnt from experience that the imposing edifice of the police and magistracy and law courts and prisons which goes by the name of British Raj is but a house of cards when they hurl against either collective power. This lesson is not likely to be forgotten and it constitutes the starting point for the next offensive.

Our third and most important task then at the present moment is to prepare for the next major offensive. Perhaps organisation, discipline ourselves - these are our present watch-words.

The next offensive? When do we expect to launch the next offensive? Some people think that the masses will not rise again for the next five or six years. This estimate might be true of peace time but it does

not hold good for a stormy war-torn world of fast moving events. The savage tyrannies of the British Raj - the Linlithgows, the Hallots, the Stewarts and the myriads of others lie low for the present, but they have nowhere converted them into friends of the oppressors. The whole countryside, where this British type of Nazi Hell was not loose, is seething with the most intense discontent, anger and thirst for revenge. The pecple have merely to understand that powerful preparations are afoot to take tourage again and to enter the plans and schemes of the next offensive, with active, co-ordinated and disciplined work; it would be wholly favourable for the next assault. International events may come to our aid. Then there is Gandhiji's ever impending fast unto death, a constant reminder to us and to the people not the slacken, not to waver, not to rest on the oars.

The question of the next offensive is linked up with the question of the positive task of the Revolution - i.e. the establishment of the units of the Revolutionary governments. With the latter question is bound up the question of violence and maintain (od) armed forced. I wish, therefore, to place before you my view on this question, as to my mind it affects vitally the future of our Revolution.

First of all, I feel I must say a few words about the noise the British authorities have made about the violence committed in the course of this revolution. There was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the Rising and the staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence. It is not realised, perhaps, that thousands of British and Indian employees of the foreign power were for some days literally at the mercy of the masses who took compassion on their foes and spared their lives and property. And what of the cool, sublime courage of those thousands of youth and old who received the enemy's bullets on their chests with the flag revolution in their hands and "Inqlab Zindabad" on their lips? Have the British a word of praise for this godly courage?

In any case is it not remarkable that the British power which is soaked in violence, which daily commits the most pitiless forms of violence, which grinds down millions of people and sucks their life-blood should

make so much noise about the violence that others commit? How are the British concerned with what weapons we choose to fight them with? Have they not already shot down thousands of our non-violent soldiers? Have they pledged non-violence if the rebels adhere to it? Whatever weapons we use the British have only bullets for us and looting and rape and arson. So let them keep quiet as to how we fight them, it is our business entirely to decide that.

Coming to the question as it affects us, I would first remind you of the difference between Gandhiji's views on non-violence and those of the Working Committee of the A.I.C.C. Gandhiji is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life principle. Not so with the Congress. Then Congress has stated repeatedly during this war that if India became free, or even if a national government were set up, it would be prepared to resist aggression with arms. But, if we are prepared to fight Japan and Germany with arms, why must we refuse to fight Britain in the same manner? The only possible answer can be that the Congress in power could have an army, whereas the Congress in wilderness has none. But supposing a revolutionary army were created or if the present Indian army or a part of it rebel, would it not be inconsistent for us first to ask the army to rebel and then ask the rebels to lay down arms and face British bullets with bared chests?

My own interpretation of the Congress position not Gandhiji's - is clear and definite. Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power, we are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhiji's principles, that is not my fault. The Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. themselves have chosen to differ from Gandhiji and to reject his conception of non-violence as applied to the war. Nor was Gandhiji allowed by the British power to lead and shape this resolution; so, in following interpretation we should in no manner be false to him. We should only be discharging our duties in the light of our own reason. As far as I am concerned, I feel that I should be completely justified as an honest Congressman, without in any

manner intruding my socialism upon the question, in repelling the British aggression with arms.

I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the development of the revolution and lead to its failure.

With the implication of the last phase of the revolution clear in our minds, we have to prepare, organise, train and discipline our forces. In everything we do, we have constantly to bear in mind that ours is not to be merely a conspiratorial action. It is total revolt of the work, we must do intensive work among the masses - peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. We must do ceaseless propaganda among them and help them in their present difficulties, organise them to fight for their present demands, recruit from them selected soldiers for our various activities and train them technically and politically. With training a few may succeed where thousands failed before. In factory and workshop or other industrial centres, we must have a band of militants, materially equipped for the next rising.

Then there is our work in the Indian army and the services. There is agitational and demonstrative work. There is the work in the Native States and on the frontiers of India. It is not possible for me here to describe our preparations more concretely. Let it suffice to say that there is tremendous work to be done and work for every one. Much is being done at present, but vastly more remains to be done.

Who but youth can accomplish all this? Is it too much to hope that our students who have got such a brilliant record already will follow up their achievements and vindicate the promise they have given? It is for the student themselves to answer.

I should make it clear that preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No "Skirmishes", "frontier activities", "minor clashes", "sniping", "Patrolling" - all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive.

With full confidence in the people and devotion to the cause, let us, then, march ahead. Let our steps be firm, our hearts resolute and our vision undimmed. The sun of the Indian freedom has already risen above the horizon. Let not the clouds of our own doubts and disputes, inaction and faithlessness, obscure that sun and drown us in our self-created darkness.

In the end, comrades, I should like to say that it has made me inexpresibly happy and proud to be able once again to place my services at your disposal. In serving you, the last words of our leader, "do or die" shall be guiding star, your co-operation my strength and your command my pleasure.

B. Jai Prakash

Somewhere in India.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XVII

C.P. Peoples Wrath Against Police and Government Reprisals

F.28/Cong/42-B.5 August-September, 1942

Extract from the C.I.O. report dated 20.8.42 for C.P. & Berar. Full report of the Ashti S.H., Wardha District is not yet available but the original report states that the Sub-Inspector,one head-constable and three constables were murdered, two of the constables being burnt alive and buildings and records destroyed by firing. In Wardha, according to the C.I.O. Nagpur dated 12.9.42, women's procession headed by Mohila Ashram are still continuing and arrests are being effected. C.I.O. report of 12.9.42 refers to the improvement in the situation in Nagpur, though processions were taken out, schools and colleges were picketed and bulletins were circulated. Government orders to rusticate the absentees caused an improvement in attendance. Kaka Kalelkar and Miss Sarojini Nanawati who were arrested in Wardha were responsible for a volume of prejudicial leaflets containing

instructions to village propagandists etc. In Jabbalpur usual activities as picketing, removing of fish plates and bolts of the B.N. Railway, cutting of trunk telephone wires, burning of post boxes were reported. Acts of sabotage occurred at Hoshangabad and Chhindwara. Leaflets at Raipur throughout the fighting forces with reprisals by the future Congress Government. Yeotmal, Akola and Amraoti were again active.

The C.I.O. report Nagpur dated 16.9.42 says: "There has been considerable improvement in the general situation. The rebellion having spent itself informs of government strong measures, and only in the form of isolated acts of sabotage of railway tracks and telegraph wires, with occasional outburst of mob violence against police action to prevent holding of meetings.The people are not, however, convinced of the errors of their ways and are now quiet through lack of leadership and fear of reprisals. An atmosphere of sullenness and intense anti-British feeling prevails and was accentuated by the Prime Minister's latest statement on Indian States according to the C.I.O. report dated 16.9.42 seems to have remained unaffected by the Congress uprising in British India.

By a Gazette extraordinary, the C.P. Government exempted Muslim inhabitants from liability to put in operation of the collective fines imposed in certain areas of these districts- Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Balaghat and Amraoti. Exemptions uniformally extend to such individuals of the Muslim community save in the case of the District Magistrates concerned, taken part in disturbances in the area.

C.I.O. report dated 19.9.42 refers to the trouble in Nagpur where the city college was compelled to close early and allow college students outside to observe hartal indefinitely, leaflets were distributed. 54 persons were arrested in Wardha on the 9th and on the 11th when another procession was taken out 11 women were arrested. In Chhindwara usual meetings and processions in Jabbalpur and hartal was observed on the 6th and gangs of small boys indulged in rewdyism, stoned the cars and a large number of passers-by of European head gears were stopped, their head-dress removed and burnt. Processions were taken out and police opened fire 8 times. Curfew was imposed on the 7th, railway booking office was looted, records destroyed and post boxes removed. Processions were

reported again on the 8th and 10th when telegraph wires to Niwas was cut in Katni, daily satyagraha continued, 5 sepoys of the 47 Auxiliary Pioneer Batallion were among the satyagrahis. Usual activities were reported from Hoshangabad where Congress flags were hoisted on school buildings in Bhandara Distt. Forest Satyagraha was carried on. In Akola telegraph wires were cut between Murtizapur and Karanja on the 5th, records and furniture of the school at Beora were burnt. Y.R. Oke who resigned his appointment as public prosecutor announced a meeting on the 9th but no one turned up. The owner of Sawatram Mills instigated mill workers to go on strike on the arrest of S.S. Papadia, a Congress shareholder. The strike was of short duration. The Congress meeting were held at Buldana and Yeotmal. C.I.O. Nagpur report dated 25.9.42 says that 18 persons were arrested in Wardha for taking out processions and holding meetings. In Saugor there was a complete hartal due to the propaganda of C.R. Lokras and Gopilal, Congress leaders; telegraph and telephone lines were cut. An attempt was made to set fire to a police out-post and post office records were burnt. Police and military patrolled the town. In Banda forest range 770 trees were cut between lst and 6th September. At Bina, S.R. Lakras gave instructions to local leaders to advise the audience to burn post offices and police buildings. Hindu students picketed the Bina High School and tried to close it, but this was frustrated by the action of Muslim students who entered their classes forcibly. On the 9th, 9 lamps were broken and mob attempted to hoist the Congress flag on the student house building. Usual activity in Mandala, Hoshangabad. In Nimar District, the Chief Conspirator Dip Chand Jain of the local Khadi Bhandar was arrested after hoisting Congress flag on the Government High School and taking out a procession on the 12th which was dispersed by the police with guns, partial hartal at Raipur and distribution of leaflets, search of a temple for Congress bulletins at Akaltara (Bilaspur) meetings in Drug District and processions in Timsar were the chief features during this period. In Akola besides the usual propaganda to boycott foreign goods and commit acts of sabotage, there were two assaults during this week. On 15th three persons assaulted a Kotwal and town's patwari, records which he was carrying at chickheda and on the 16th in Murtizapur station another

kotwal was assaulted. Number of arrests were made. According to a newspaper report dated 28th September, 5 people were sentenced to death and 4 to transportation for life who were charged with beating constable Balgovind to death, setting fire to a police chowki, destroying government property and stealing three guns and ammunition.

According to a C.I.D. report for the second half of September 1942, the arrest of Sant Tukdoji immediately soon after the outrages in Chimur has given rise to a certain amount of agitation in the Mahratta country for his release. A deputation consisting of Dr.N.B. Khare and Mr.T.J. kedar, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, waited upon the Governor who undertook to review his case when conditions settle down. Sant Tukdoji was in Chimur about half an hour before the beginning of the disturbance in that village. He had also visited Ashti in Wardha District some days prior to the outrages occurred there.

Special judges have been appointed in Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Betul and Amraoti Districts. Of the 4,000 persons arrested, 1276 have been released, 887 have been tried and convicted, 557 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment; 307 were whipped and 18 were fined, 79 persons tried by the Special Judge in Nagpur for the murder of a constable, 5 were sentenced to death, 4 to transportation for life.

———— ·X· ————

Appendix XVIII

How Jai Prakash Narain Escaped from Prison

F.28/Cong/42-C

Extract from Gaya Congress Leaflet Baghi No. 3
Hindi Page 3.

....

Under the caption "How Jai Prakash Narain and others escaped" the bulletin publishes the following article-

The clock strikes 12. The prisoner in one of the cells is anxiously waiting for somebody. He has no sleep and is all the time tossing on his bed. Some-

times he would look towards the window and then absorb himself in thought. Suddenly he hears somebody come. The prisoner sees him, smiles and stands up. Quickly he puts off the prisoner's uniform and wears the dress of a police man. The gentleman who has arrived there handles the lock fixed to the window without uttering a word and then there comes the sound of the breaking of the lock. The prisoner follows the figure in the dress of a police officer.

* * * *

Three youngmen are seen standing near the formidable compound wall of the jail. Seeing the newccmer they prepare themselves. Slowly they arrange themselves in a pile one standing on the shoulder of the other. In this way 6 persons come out. When they get on the wall they cast a glance on their friends - glance full of hope and desire. They salute them and then descend with the help of a rope. Outside two youngmen are found on guard duty near the bend of the compound wall. Their hards are ready to work. A police van is seen standing at a little distance. On the body of the bus the words "Bihar Police" are inscribed in bold letters. Six persons enter the bus. All the six are wearing the dress of police officials with revolvers hanging from their waist. The bus starts and quickly moves on the Grand Trunk Road. Crossing jungles and mountains the bus is running in full speed in the prevailing still darkness. A constable is seen on the way. He stops the bus. When he finds that police officials are sitting inside he salutes in military fashion and warns the driver not to drive so fast. He is told that the bus is running after an absconder.

* * * *

Then it strikes three. The vehicle stops near a jungle. Leaving the driver all other inmates get down. They look at each other and smile. They put off the dress they were wearing and clad themselves as villagemen. Thereafter they move. They move in the still darkness tearing the jungles and crossing the mountains.

* * * *

The jail gates open in the morning. There is some wrong with the total number at the roll call. A warder hastens to inform that Jai Prakash Narain, Ram Nandan Misra, Yogendra Shukla, Suraj Narain Singh, Gulabi Sonar and Shalygram Singh have escaped from the jail. Alarm is sounded. But the lions were out.

———— ·X· ————

TOWER HAMLETS

INDEX

Abhyankar, Vimla Bai, 244
Acharji, Saraj Bandhu, 197
Adam, R.W.L ., 13
Afghanistan, 39
Afzal, Sher, 294
Agarwala, Jyot Prasad, 295
Agarwal, Piare Lal, 88
Agarwal, Ram Charan, 17
Agra, 8, 113, 233, 238, 255, 259
Ahmedabad, 29, 64, 136, 157, 160, 341
Ahmed, G., 2
Ahmed, Mir Mushtaq, 12, 17
Ahmed, Sir Zia–ud–din
Akhal Bharatiya Deshi Rajya Lok Parishad, 58
Akola, 19, 36, 41, 85
Ali, Asaf, 16, 65
Ali, Mrs. Aruna Asaf, 1, 132, 145, 155, 247, 250, 278, 292, 297, 306, 319, 390; activities in Delhi, 313–314
Ali, Sadiq, 161, 181, 246
Ali, Yusuf Meher, 146
Aligarh Muslim University (AMU), 25
All India Congress Committee (AICC), 4, 7, 27, 339
Allahabad, 8, 24, 114, 133, 148, 179, 238, 251, 255, 304, 321, 341
Alwar, 123, 186
Amanullah, ex–King of Afghanistan, 39
Amritsar, 156
Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, 5, 121–122
Anjuman–e–Watan, 39, 232
Ansari, Farid–ul Hak, 17
Ansari, M.A., 12
Anushilan Bengal Volunteers, 151
Anushilan Samiti, 133, 168
Arora, Dev Parkash, 296
Aruna Asaf Ali – see under Ali Mrs. Aruna Asaf
Arya, Bhanwarilal, 159
Assam, 194, 293, 299, 387
– Congress workers in, 110–111
– Guerilla activities in, 198
– Sabotage in, 292–296
Asthana, Chander Shekhar, 328
Axis Powers, 65, 80, 94, 158, 263
– and Congress Party, 171
– Propaganda in India, 254
Azad, Abul Kalam, 65, 73
Azad Dastas, 358 – 368
– discipline of, 361
– strategy of, 363–366
Azadi Ka Morcha Party, 230

Bagdi, Magan Lal, 34
Baghia, Manni Ram, 101
Bai, Smt. Memo, 12
Bajaj, Jamna Lal, 245
Balasore, 146
Ballva, 116
Baluchistan, 39, 232
Banerjee, Mrs. Purnima, 143
Banerji, Promatha, 193
Bardolai, Gopi Nath, 65, 86, 161
Barman, Amar, 154
Baroda, 26, 64, 127, 155, 157, 332
Barua, Dr. Bhubaneswar, 110, 202
Barua, Hem Chandra, 110
Barve, Annaji Balkrishna, 282
Basu, Dr. Nripen, 182
Basu, S.K., 110, 283, 329
Behari, Nur Uddin, 17
Benares, 8, 25, 238
– Students' agitation in, 271–274
Benares Hindu University (BHU), 112, 133, 158, 238, 271, 276, 380
– students activities in, 311–312
Bengal, 293, 387
– Jugantar party in, 167–170
– demonstrations in, 79
– formation of Board of Action in, 133–134
– freedom struggle in, 368–377
– political situation in, 280–281
– Press in, 184 – 185
– revolutionary activity in, 179–186
– revolutionary groups in, 240–241
Bengal Council of Action, 180–181, 240
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, 66, 183
Bengal Volunteers, 133
Bengal Volunteer Group, 142
Bera, A.K., 331
Bera, S.C., 331
Berucha, Perin, 96
Bhagalpur, 103
Bhandari, Durga Das, 307
Bhandari, Charu, 180
Bharatpur, 108, 118, 159, 166
Bhasin, Balram, 325
Bhattacharji, Bejoy, 194
Bhattacharya, Kanshi Nath, 292, 293
Bhave, Vinoba, 135
Bhaulka, Ram Kumar, 223
Bhiwani, 144
Bhuiyan, Narayan Chandra, 202
Bihar, 98, 112
– Sabotage in, 286
– Underground activities in, 155–156, 279
– Violence in, 107–108
Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, 107
Bilaspur, 41
Birla, G.D., 51, 187
Birla Mills, 16
Biswa Bharati Fund, 97
Biyani, Brij Lal, 19

Bombay, 4, 7, 10, 20, 82, 87, 96, 109, 161, 162, 172, 181, 190, 247, 258, 285, 307, 341
– Bohra community in, 30
Bose, Girish Chandra, 114
Bose, Dr. Maitreyee, 316, 333
Bose, Santosh Kumar, 193
Bose, Subhash Chandra, 152, 289
Brayden, D.A., 2
Burma, 18, 98, 112, 273, 299

Calcutta, 2, 16, 33, 54, 74, 93, 132, 138, 161, 190 294, 341
Calcutta Tramway Workers Union, 193
Calicut, 6, 7
Cawnpore see Kanpur
Central Provinces and Berar, 19
– Collective fines in, 135
– Congress detenus in, 402–404
– disturbances in, 173–177
– mass arrests in, 40–41
– police firing in, 34–39, 163–166
Chakravarti, Raj Kumar, 134
Chaji, Mohan Lal, 37, 84
Champaran, 103
Chander, Ishwar, 101
Chandu, Lakshmi Chander, 147
Chatterji, Haripada, 182
Chatterji, Jogesh Chandra, 115, 261
Chatterjee, Mihir Lal, 66, 86, 161
Chaturvedi, Jugal Kishore, 22
Chaudhary, Debi, 154
Chaudhary, Girish Chandra, 212
Chaudhary, Mahendra, 99
Chaudhary, Malati, 147, 197
Chaudhary, Mohan Chandra, 99
Chaudhary, Umesh Chandra, 110
China, 92, 315
Chittagong, 96
Chittagong Party, 168
Choudhari, Gopal G., 150
Chowdhury, Annanda Prasad, 247, 330, 331, 333
Chowdhury, Naba Krushna, 322
Churchill, Winston, 19
Civil Disobedience Campaign, 21–22
Civil Disobedience Movement, 37
– in Jammu and Kashmir, 325–326
– Eastern States, 186
– in Punjab, 149
– in Rajasthan, 108–109, 158–159, 186–187
Civil Disturbance Column, 175
Communist Party of India (CPI), 170, 379, 392
Congress League, 82
Congress Qaumi Sewa Dal, 4
Congress Socialist Party (CSP), 2, 98, 114, 132, 146, 155, 161–162, 168, 197, 247, 252, 295, 307, 316, 330, 335, 381
– activities in Bengal, 333–334
– activities in Bihar, 319–320
Congress War Council, 198
Cochin State – police strike in, 2–3
Cripps Mission, 80
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 18
Cuttack, 134

Dacca, 74, 181, 140
Dalal, A.R., 148
Damoh, 84, 86
Dandikar, V.S., 34
Das, Baba Raghav, 303
– activities in U.P., 314–315, 328–329
Das, Babu Baldev, 147
Das, Biswanath, 65
Das, P.C., 331
Das, Rasik Lal, 168
Dass, Banamali, 89
Dass Gupta, Pannalal, 294
Das Gupta, Rabi, 316
Datta, Advaita Charan, 76, 377, 394
Datta, Bhupendra Kumar, 168
Datta, Biren, 335
Datta Pandit Vishnu, 58
Datta, Sukhendu Bikash, 170
Daulatram, Jairamdas, 64
Defence of India Act, 3
Defence of India Rules (DIR), 77, 262
Dehradun, 255
Delhi, 1, 156, 252, 254, 257, 260, 312, 380
– arrests in, 279–280
– political activities in, 144–145
– situation in, 13–19, 48–50
– underground activities in, 171–172, 278, 306–309
De, Amulya Mohan, 169
De, Arunangsu, 65
Deoskar, Mrs. Dwarka Bai, 244
Desai, Bhulabhai, 65
Desai, Mahadev, 54, 122
Dev, Acharya Narendra, 65, 172–173
Devi, Malati, 324
Devi, Mrs. Krishna, 58
Devi, Parbati, 17
Dewan, Kundu, 37, 84
Din, Masuria, 114
Dr. Gairola – arrest of 309–310
Dr. Ghosh, Prafulla, 96
Dutt, A.K., 292, 293
Dutt, Krishan Gopal, 255
Dutt, Labanya Prova, 133

East Godavari District, 6
Ernakulam, 3
Europe, 282

Faroki, Muqim–uddin, 17
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, 187, 330
Field, Sir Donald, 59

Fischer, Louis, 312
Fitze, K., 90
Fort William, 294
Fourth International, 162
Forward Bloc, 114, 134, 149, 197, 270, 289, 307, 315
Free Press Journal, 312

Gaekwar, Maharaja of Baroda, 127
Gairola, Dr. K.N., 233
– arrest of 309–310
Gandhi, Devdas, 253, 270, 278
Gandhi, Kannoo Bhai, 255
Gandhi, M.K., 272, 288, 301, 336
– and Congress, 20–21
– and G.D. Birla, 194–196
– on Non–violence, 383–385
Gandhi, Mrs. Indira, 143
Ganguly, Sasadhar, 316
Garde, Sadhuvhau, 37, 84
Gaumashta, Kishanlal, 44
Gaya, 102
Germany, 315
Ghazipur, 274
Ghosh, Amar, 151
Ghose, Atulya – arrest of, 331–332
Ghosh, P.C., 65
Ghosh, Sudhir Kumar, 77, 377
Ghosh, Surendra Mohan, 168
Gulistan, 39
Ghulati, Kanwar Raj, 311
Gidwani, Sadiq Ali, 86
Gorakhpur, 114, 116
Goswami, Laxmi Kant, 294
Goswami, Nabin Chandra, 202
Gujral, Dr. M.L., 95
Guerilla Warfare – guidelines on, 404–406
Guha, Arun, 168
Gupta, Deshbandhu, 145
Gupta, Jyoti Bhushan, 147
Gupta, Manoranjan, 168
Gupta, Nayananjan Das, 2
Gupta, Ram Sarup, 252
Gurumukhi, 136
Gwalior, 300

Halim, Maulvi Abdul, 18
Hanock, C.P., 90
Harijan, 94, 131
Hazaribagh, 105
Hindu Mahasabha, 56, 82, 304, 314
Hindustan Red Army, 23, 82
Hindustan Times, 14, 34, 289
Hirachand, Walchand, 188
Hoshangabad, 36, 84, 175

India, 2
– American forces in, 18
Indian National Congress
– and arrest of Gandhiji, 339–344
– seeking American support, 312–313
– and workers, 344–347
Indian Telegraph Act, 39
Indore, 31, 179
– disturbances in, 166–167
Indore Rajya Praja Mandal, 92
Irwin Hospital, 14
Ismail, Mirza
– relations with Congress, 10–12
Ismail, Mohammad, 193

Jabalpur, 37, 163
Jain, Khub Chand, 174
Jain, L.C. 16
Jain, Phool Chand, 16
Jaipur, 10, 108, 119, 126, 158, 186, 228–229
Jaipur Public Assistance Act (1939), 11
Jamayat–Ulmai–Hind, 18
Jammu, 325
Jamshedpur, 105
Jana Raksha Bahini, 77
Japan, 64, 81, 167, 253, 271, 290, 315
Jaunpur, 116, 233
– revolutionary activities in, 239
Jessore – Khulana Party, 168
Jinnah, M.A., 96
Jodhpur, 21, 108, 117, 126, 159, 166, 224, 229–230
Jorhat, 214
Joshi, P.C., 379
Jotshi, Ram Kishan, 327
Jnanananda, Swami, 170
Jugantar Party, 2, 65, 76–79, 133, 151, 222, 393–394

Kabir, Prof. Humayun, 132, 330, 333
Kabir, Mrs. Shanti, 132
Kalappa, V.R., 173
Kamdar Mandal, 160
Kanpur, 101, 137, 252, 260, 321
Kapur, A.N., 325
Karachi, 190, 249
Karan, Ram, 225
Kashi Vidyapeeth, 310, 314, 321
Kashmiri, S.N., 34, 82
Kerala Provincial Congress Committee 6
Khalil–ul–Rahman, Hakim, 14
Khan, Abdul Qayyum, 287–288
Khan, Abdul Rashid, 1
Khan, Abdus Samad, 39, 232
Khan, Hamid, 88
Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 87, 101, 288
Khanna, Jugal Kishore, 13, 51, 155, 270, 292, 309, 312
– underground activities of, 95–96

Khander, Mitta Lal, 58
Khanna, Prem Kishan, 223, 247, 261
– sabotage by, 252–254
Khatun, Rezia, 169
Khulna, 77
Kisan Sabha, 82, 105, 109
Kishore, Acharya Jugal, 246, 257, 259, 300
– activities in U.P., 251–252
Koraput, 134
Kotah, 22, 106, 117, 139, 178, 231
– disturbances in, 120
Kriplani, Girdhari Lal, 246
Kripalani, J.B., 65
Kripalani, Mrs. Sucheta, 86, 161, 390
Krishak–Prajas, 268
Kumar, Akshoy, 58
Kumari, Smt. Ved, 12
Kumarappa, J.C., 246–247
Kushiari, Jiten, 77

Labour Trotsky Party, 176
Lahore, 2, 327
Lal, Jagat Narain, 98, 155
Lal, Kishori, 177
Lal, Madan, 177
Lal, Manohar, 50
Lal, Shankar, 292
Le Bailey, W.F.G., 13
Lodha, Kala Ram, 159
Lohia, Dr. Ram Manohar, 86, 137, 143, 161, 162, 246, 251, 258, 299, 321
– role in Quit India Movement, 219–221
Lok Parishad, 117
London Times – on situation in India, 19
Lord Wavell, 317
Lucknow, 8, 25, 113, 133, 155, 314, 321

Madni, Maulvi Hussain Ahmed, 18
Madras, 6, 98, 109, 254
Mahajan, Bodh Raj, 327
Mahanty, K.C., 89
Maheswari, Jai Krishna, 58
Mahtha, S.N., 239
Malabar, 3
Malaviya, Govind, 271
Mallancherry, 3
Malviya, Keshav Dev, 88, 148, 210, 246, 251, 381
– underground activities of, 232–233
Malviya, Pt. Madan Mohan, 273
Malviya, Sanat Kumar, 258
Malaya, 18, 98
Mandal, Arti, 164
Maran Sena, 135
Markaz–i–ala Sardaryab, 101
Mathur, Man Mohan, 123
Mathur, Mathra Dass, 59
Mayurbhanj, 89
Mazumdar, Bhupendra, 377, 394
Mazumdar, Bhupati Charan, 76, 377
Mazumdar, N. Datta, 134, 294, 335
Mazumdar, Nripen, 316
Meerut, 233, 278, 302
Mehaut, Sardar Singh, 328
Mehsana, 127
Mehdi, Dinanath, 201
Mehta, Baij Nath, 296
Mehta, Gagan Vehari Lal, 187
Mehta, G.L., 188, 330
Mehta, Nand Lal, 307
Mehta, Ramesh, 18
Mengi, Gopal Dutt, 327
Menon, E.R.K., 298
Mhow, 92
Midnapore, 185, 331
Misra, Ram Nandan, 94, 98, 197, 247
– detention of, 109
– in Congress Socialist Party, 109–110
Misra, D.P. – arrest of, 56
Misra, Gori Shankar, 147
Misra, Kailash Pati, 300
Missir, Bignesar, 94
Moghe, Balaji, 37, 84
Monghyr, 104, 249
Moradabad, 113, 115
Morris, John Ripy, 313
M.P. no–tax campaign in, 281
Mrityu–Bahini, 377
Mrityubahini Corps, 294, 295
Mudaliar, Sir Ramaswamy, 317
Mukharji, Ashutosh, 78
Mukharji, Jadu Gopal, 168
Mukherji, Kalidas, 134, 142, 161
Mukharji, Kiren Chandra, 168
Mukherjee, Mohan Lal, 202
Mukharji, Samar, 154
Mukharji, Sarat Chandra, 180
Munshi, K.M., 245
Murarka, Basanta Lal, 65
Murti, Satya, 143
Muslim League, 43, 96
Muzaffarpur, 109, 249, 320
Mymensingh, 77, 168, 294, 333
Mysore, 10, 332

Nabis, Rabindra Nath, 110
Nagpur, 23, 37, 40, 85, 129, 164, 173, 188, 235, 242, 245, 250, 380
– police firing in, 41–48
Naidu, Sarojini, 65
Nainital, 137
Naoroji, Miss Khurshed, 246
Narain, Jai Prakash, 1, 247, 261, 289, 299, 301, 321, 406–413
– activities of, 386–392
– appeal to America, 319
– appeal to American soldiers, 395–402

– appeal to Freedom Fighters, 354–358
– escape from prison, 417–418
Nath, Narindra, 6
Nath, Onkar, 16
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 137, 162, 188
– on Quit India Movement, 262–263
Nehru, Rameshwari, 150
Nellore, 6
Nepal, 155, 319
Nigam, Harish Chander, 380
Nigam, N.K., 17
Nilgiri Rebellion, 198–200
Nilgiri State – political situation in, 89–92
No Talks Campaign, 117
North Bihar, 102
North–West Frontier Province (NWFP), 293, 332, 287
– activities of Congress in, 1–2
Nowgong, 212

Orissa
– repression in, 134–135
– underground activities in, 145–147

Palamau, 105
Paliwal, Jiwa Ram, 114, 238, 370
Pande, Kesho, 115
Pande, Sant Kumar, 114
Pandey, Baldeo, 277
Pandit, Mrs. Vijayalaxami, 138
Pandit, R.S., 143
Pant, G.B., 65, 135, 137
Papadia, S.P., 176
Parohat, Dwarkadass, 57
Parshad, Savitri, 17
Parvati Devi, 13
Pasi, Jaglal Choudhari, 94
Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai, 64, 136, 162, 332
Pathak, Golak Chandra, 99
Patna, 102, 107, 133, 233, 249
Patnaik, Baishnab Charan, 99
Patwardhan, Achyut, 65, 162, 190, 246
– activities in Maharashtra, 310–311
Pers, C.S., 162
Peshawar, 1
Polindra, 28, 32
Poona, 40
Prakash, Prof. Kailash
– activities in U.P., 278–279
Praja Mandal, 11, 122
– activities in Gujarat, 28–30
– activities in Rajasthan, 21–22, 125–127, 224–231
Praja Mandal Committee, 121
Praja Parishad, 106, 159
Prasad, Dr. Rajendra, 65, 97, 107
Punjab, 13, 156, 220, 326
– Akalis' activities in, 149–150
– political situation in, 143–144
– revolutionary activity in, 24
Purnea, 104

Qaiyyum, Abdul, 1
Quetta, 39, 136
Quami Sewa Dal, 9
Quit India Movement
– in Assam, 317–318
– and Communists, 377–379
– and Congress, 365–373, 336–344
– in Delhi, 48–50
– in Baroda, 52–54
– in Jodhpur, 57–59
– in Gujarat, 63–64
– in Bengal, 73–76
– in C.P. and Berar, 80–81
– in Bihar, 94–95, 102–106
– London Times on, 332
– and Malabar Community, 193
– planning and organization of, 263–270
– P.C. Joshi on, 392–393
– role of Industrialists in, 80–81
– and women, 94–96
Quit India Bulletin, 247
Quit India Day, 149

Rai, Premjas, 18, 171, 270
Rajasthan – demonstrations in, 152–154
Ram, Sir Shri, 145, 256, 292
Raman, Radha, 16
Ranchi, 105
Ranga, N.G., 239
Rao, Kala Venkata, 5, 6
Rastogi, Anand Prakash, 262
Ray, Amal, 240
Ray, Upendra Nath, 180
Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), 152, 154, 193, 240, 316
Rohtak, 144
Roy, Kiran Shankar, 151, 181, 184, 223, 303, 317, 333, 335
– and Congress, 187–188
Ruikar, R.S., 34, 82

Sagar, 84
Saha, Prof. Gyan, 96.
Sahib, Dr. Khan, 1
Saigon, 176
Sankar Math Party, 168
Santhals, 95
Santhal Parganas, 104
Sanyal, Sachindra Nath, 114
Sarabhai, Mridula, 87, 107
Saraf, Om Prakash, 327
Sarkar, Hemanta Kumar, 180
Sarkar, Nalini Ranjan, 145, 317
Saran, Chakradhar, 98

Saran, Govind, 307
Sarma, Hareswar, 99
Sarvati, V.G., 92
Saxena, Ganpat Rai, 101
Saxena, Mohan Lal, 66, 143, 158
Saxeria, Sitraram, 65
Scindia Steam Navigation, 187
Sen, Baidya Nath, 55
Sen, Prafulla Chandra, 66, 180
Sen, Sasi Bhushan, 168
Senapati, Trilochan, 322
  – arrest of, 328–330
Sen–Gupta, Satindra Nath, 78
Sewagram Ashram, 87, 100
Shah, Demodar Das, 329
Shah, M.M., 296, 307
Shahapad, 102
Shankar, K.P., 16
Shantiniketan, 97
Sharda, Ram Bilas, 292
Sharma, Deo Datt, 101
Sharma, Kundan Lal, 307
Sharma, Reoti, 166
Sharma, Yag Datt, 18
Shankar Lal, 145
Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 143
Shastri, Ram Pyari, 166
Shraddhanand, Swami, 12
Shukla, Chandra Bhushan, 261
Shukla, Ravi Shankar, 40, 85, 129, 237
  – arrest of, 56
Siddiqi, Sharif Ahmed, 246
Sind, 115
  – bomb incidents in, 249–250
Singh, Ambika, 239
Singh, Apji Onkar, 22
Singh, Daljit
  – activities in Delhi, 315–316
Singh, Dr. Yudhvir, 12, 17
Singh, Granti Kartar, 136
Singh, Har Prasad, 277
Singh, Jaswant, 326
Singh, Krishna Huthee, 263
Sinhji, Maharaja Pratap, 63
Singh, Mrs. Charitar, 150
Singh, Raj Narain, 283
Singh, Rajdeo, 114
Singh, Ram Sundar, 161
Singh, Sardar Baisakha, 298
Singh, Sheo Shankar, 98
Singh, Shyam Nandan, 299
Singh, Vikrama Dutt, 277
Sinha, B.P., 280
Sinha, Gopi Nath, 258
Sinha, Rameshwar Sahai, 252
Sitaramayya, Dr. Pattabhi, 5, 64, 162
Soviet Union, 92
Sri Sangha Party, 240, 394
Srivastava, J.P., 313
Stalin, Joseph, 324
Statesman, 38, 84, 86
Sukhadia, Mohan Lal, 121
Sultanpur, 252
Surana, Dharam Chand, 22
Surana, Hukam Chand, 57
Swaraj Panchayats, 135

Tagore, Rabindra Nath, 97
Tagore, Soumen, 134
Tambe, Mrs. Ramabai, 244
Tamilnad Provincial Congress
  Committee, 6
Tandon, P.D., 137
Tarafdar, Hemanta, 168
Terrorist Society of Bengal, 24
Tezpur, 213, 295
The Tribune (London)
  – on British aims in India, 32–33
Tragedy of Chimur, 241–245
Trichur, 3
Trikamdas, Purshotamdas, 246, 247
Tripathi, Ram Nakehatra, 114
Trivedi, Ram Dularey, 101

Udaipur, 22, 119, 123, 126, 152, 186, 225–226
Ujjain, 30
United Provinces, 278
  – Communists in, 111–117
  – Congress in, 7–10, 248
  – mass movement in, 3–5
  – Revolutionary activity in, 24–25
  – Sabotage in, 203–207
  – Socialists in, 259
  – terrorist activities in, 223–224
  – underground activities in, 59–63, 300–302, 380 – 383

Vaid, Ajudhia Nath, 327
Varma, Kishen Lal, 305
Varma, Ram Lal, 270, 297
Vati, Satya, 13
Vidyalankar, Jai Chandra, 310
Vidyarathi, Hari Shankar, 251–252
Vyas, Jai Narain, 57, 58

Wardha, 5, 25, 35, 40, 82, 107, 129, 174, 235

Yajee, Sheel Bhadra, 247

(Contd. from 1st flap)

collected funds to give to mill labourers of Ahmedabad for keeping them away from work. Birla offered Rs. 25,000/- for fomenting General Trombay Strike in Calcutta. Such pro-Government business-men as Sir Sri Ram and Shankar Lal sympathised with the Congress and Charat Ram had given Rs. 10,000/- to J.P. for the movement. Rai Bahadur Baisakha Singh gave refuge to Aruna Asaf Ali and among those who helped the revolutionaries were Daljit Singh, son of Sir Sobha Singh, Sarla Srivastava, daughter of Sir J.P. Srivastava, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, besides others.

About the Chief Editor

Dr. P.N. Chopra, Chief Editor, *Towards Freedom Project,* Indian Council of Historical Research, formerly Editor, *Indian Gazetteers,* is an eminent historian and has a number of works to his credit, besides the 4 volumes of the *Gazetteer of India* which are regarded as most authoritative works on India and its people. He was also the Chief Editor of the project entitled *India's Freedom Struggle: Role of Associated Movements* (5 volumes) sponsored by the Centenary Celebrations Committee of the Indian National Congress. His publications include *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India* (3 volumes); *Main Currents of Indian History; Role of Muslims in India's Struggle for Freedom; Contribution of Buddhism to World Civilization and Culture; Life and Letters under the Mughals; India's Struggle for Freedom; India—An Encyclopaedic Survey; Religions and Communities of India; Wickenden's Report on Quit India Movement; A Century of Indian National Congress,* a book on the *Life and Works of His Holiness the Dalai Lama XIV; History of South India* (3 volumes), etc.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

BRITISH SECRET DOCUMENTS

London Times dated 10.8.42

There can be little doubt that Mr. Gandhi has made up his mind for some weeks past-perhaps eversince the breakdown of the Cripps Negotiations—to force the issue of this point and that the only factor which has postponed the crisis was the difficulty of securing whole-hearted support among his followers.

The Tribune, London, August 14, 1942

There is no Indian crisis. But there is a British crisis.... The Imperial lion has roused himself invoking the spirit of Clive and Hastings and Dyer, he roars again. Gandhi arrested, Nehru arrested, 250 other Congress leaders arrested, and 72 years old Granny Gandhi is also arrested, lest are trembling whisper might rock the foundation of the Great Raj

London Times dated 25.9.42

The sabotage and hooliganism which in some places includes heinous murder is plainly not all explicable as the consequences of political and national sentiment....How much of the violence and destructions were spontaneous, how much immitative, how much deliberately planned, perhaps none knows; all these exceptions seem in part justified by a dispassionate survey of these events.

The Dawn dated 12.11.43 quoted the London Times

Some leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other left wing members of the Working Committee put the impending mass movement upon the plane of revolt. They warned their audience that it be necessary for them to face bullets and bombs which was as much as to say that they were to create a situation that could be dealt with only by bullets and bombs.

INTERPRINT

ISBN: 81-85017-32-8